



THE NUCLEAR BUBBLE BURSTS

Three Mile Island Local residents and industry lies are exposed. **European Proliferation** Nuclear power spreads. So do the protests. **Death in the West** The story behind Paul Jacobs. **The Unquiet Grave** Long after the fuel is spent future generations will be paying.



THE INSIDE STORY



The industry's troubles mount

By David Moberg

If the partial meltdown of the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant near Harrisburg knocks out the nuclear industry in this country, it will only indirectly result from aggravated worries about nuclear dangers. The real threat is economic. The accident will intensify trends that already threaten to make nuclear power plants a bad investment.

Yet such developments would also serve as a powerful reminder that the decisions about nuclear power—and energy generally—are never purely economic, but always *politically* economic, as well they should be.

The nuclear industry has been tottering during the past several years. Orders for new nuclear plants have dropped precipitously since 1973: last year only two new ones were ordered and 19 previously announced plans were scrapped. More have been abandoned this year, including one in New York cancelled last week. The decline in orders threatens the future of the industry. Companies that build reactors have already considered dropping the business, and skilled engineers may go elsewhere.

Orders have declined partly because electricity demand has not grown as fast as the industry has projected over the past five years. With a "reserve margin" of 37 percent of capacity, when 20 percent is considered adequate, there is simply less need for new construction of generating plants. Moreover, since nuclear facilities provide about 12 percent of the nation's electricity (and less than 1 percent of its total energy budget), some observers suggest that even a shutdown of most nuclear plants could be accommodated if it weren't for the uneven geographical concentration of nuclear plants in a few states, such as Illinois, New York and South Carolina.

Even existing plants and those under construction have faced severe economic problems that are likely to grow worse. In 1972 the processed uranium ore called "yellowcake" sold for \$7-8 a pound on the spot market; today it is around \$44 a pound. Even long-term contract prices have risen to \$17.40 a pound and are expected to reach \$29 by 1985.

No longer such cheap fuel.

Relatively cheap fuel—cheap partly because of indirect government subsidy—has been the strong suit of the industry, and it is still the primary reason for the lower cost per kilowatt hour of electricity from nuclear plants (1.45 cents per kwh from all nuclear plants compared to 1.73 cents for a sample of the more modern coal-fired plants, according to Department of Energy figures for 1977).

However, the biggest problem is not the rising uranium costs and the severe limits on availability of fuel in the absence of breeder reactors; it is the capital cost of construction. Nuclear capital costs are high. The Department of Energy estimates that the capital costs per kwh of nuclear-generated electricity is 0.92 cents, or 60 percent of the total cost; for coal it is 0.62 cents, or 36 percent.

Therefore, it is very significant that from 1972 to 1977 the capital costs of building a new nuclear plant have increased 25 percent a year, nearly three times as fast as the general rate of inflation, according to Charles Komanoff, a leading nuclear industry economist who works for the Council on Economic Priorities.

Although the cost of coal-fired plants has also gone

up, the escalation for nuclear plants has been much faster—growing 2.5 times faster in the first half of this decade. Komanoff says that the average nuclear plant finished in 1979 would probably cost \$1,050 per kilowatt of capacity compared with \$675 per kilowatt of capacity for coal. Utility estimates are lower but they still show a jump of 50 percent in the capital cost between 1980 and 1985, making the price per kilowatt of capacity double what it was in 1977. It's worth remembering, in addition, that final costs have on the average more than doubled original estimates in recent years, according to Richard Pollock of *Critical Mass*.

The increasing costs stem from several sources, but directly or indirectly a large part of the rising expense is attributable to public pressure about safety and environmental dangers. John Crowley, manager of advanced engineering with United Engineers, calculated that the environmental and safety precautions mandated between 1967 and 1978 add \$141 million (in 1976 dollars) to the cost of a 1000 megawatt power plant completed in 1978. Such a plant might have cost in the vicinity of \$750 million.

The safety worries not only add costs by requiring more and better protective systems but also by extending the time between licensing and completion—which has jumped from five to six years in the early days of the industry to ten to 12 years recently. Each month's delay costs from \$9 to \$11 million, according to a Congressional Budget Office study. The high interest payments that utilities must make in these inflationary times simply exacerbates their difficulties, partly because they face growing opposition to rising utility rates and because in most states they cannot include costs of construction-work-in-progress in their rate base.

A "mature" industry?

In an attempt to cut those costs, the industry has pushed for speedier licensing and lessened public participation, which the Carter administration continues to support. Essentially, Carter and Energy Secretary James Schlesinger back the industry view that nuclear power is now a "mature" industry with a "learning curve" that is tapering off, permitting greater standardization of regulations and procedures.

Even before the Three Mile Island accident, that argument was dealt a serious blow last January when the Nuclear Regulatory Commission repudiated the results of its *Reactor Safety Study* (the Rasmussen report) that had attempted to define clearly the probability of dangerous accidents. Consequently, "the chances of a potentially catastrophic reactor accident must once more be regarded as 'uncertain,'" according to the February Congressional Budget Office study.

The Three Mile Island accident confirmed that uncertainty with a vengeance, since several of the most serious problems at Three Mile Island were not taken into account in the Rasmussen report, including the emergence of the potentially explosive hydrogen bubble, the destruction by radiation of crucial monitoring devices and the lately developed problem with a slowed flow of water through the partially melted reactor.

"This will take some serious thinking," nuclear engineer Crowley said. "After all the piles of paper, something happened we hadn't planned on."

Problems with maintenance and safety over the years have contributed to another major economic problem: the reliability of reactors. Instead of functioning at their predicted 80 percent of capacity, nuclear reactors were functioning from 1973 to 1976 at roughly 55 percent of capacity. In the last two years that figure has improved. However, the added capital costs of nuclear reactors mean that the overhead and interest costs of producing electricity jump markedly when the capacity declines.

What impact will the Three Mile Island accident have

on these costs? It is safe to assume that regulatory delays will increase, not decrease. "No plant without a construction permit will be built henceforth," Komanoff boldly predicts, adding that plants with permits but not started and even plants under construction may be stopped. There will undoubtedly be additional safety requirements, perhaps some retrofitted—at great cost in construction and idle reactor time—on existing facilities.

Other anticipated costs include reworking of designs, greatly increased quality assurance at all stages of production, higher costs for labor and materials for new equipment and greater NRC supervision. The greater public caution could also lead to more frequent shut-downs, since "the sequences that led up to this accident occur every month in this country, although this is the only time it progressed to a meltdown," according to Marc Messing of the Environmental Policy Center. All that will result in lowered capacity utilization and higher costs.

Also, there will be growing pressure to include an analysis of nuclear proposals in waste disposal and "decommissioning" (dismantling an exhausted plant after its 30-year expected lifetime). Waste disposal is still unsettled and no plant has ever been decommissioned. (That could cost as much as construction.) Consequently, Messing says, "my gut feeling is that the cost of nuclear power plants should be two to three times what it is today."

Immediately after the accident, nuclear stocks dropped sharply and many investors had already grown chary of the nuclear industry. There will undoubtedly be an all-out publicity effort to convince Americans that we need nuclear power, even though a complete shutdown of nuclear plants now would mean only a slight (Komanoff says 5 percent) increase in oil imports and electricity prices in the worst case and might even be accommodated by conservation, coal, better utilization of the national utility grid and various renewable energy alternatives.

Anti-nuke forces powerful.

If the nuclear industry is brought to its knees by economic woes, however, it is because the environmental, safety and outright anti-nuclear movements have politically forced a much different economic calculation that takes into account our biological and social environment, considered as "externalities" by the industry.

Meanwhile, General Public Utilities, which owns Three Mile Island, has some specific woes: \$600,000 extra per day to buy electricity elsewhere, a potential loss of nearly \$1 billion if the plant cannot be reopened (which seems likely), possibly several hundred million dollars to clean up and then dealing with a spate of lawsuits.

Pennsylvania state Rep. Harold Brown, whose district is near Harrisburg, is now fighting to prevent General Public Utilities from passing on the costs of its fiasco to the public and to guarantee that residents of a county can vote on whether a nuclear plant could be built there.

"The stockholders are making the profit," he argues. "They should pay for their mistake in investment. Life is too complicated to have decisions like these made by a couple hundred politicians, even. People understand that the experts don't really know what they're talking about, but the companies and the legislature don't really want to turn decision-making power over to the people. A radical taste of pure democracy is needed now."

Such a pure democracy would probably bring the end to nuclear power, but even a partial democracy has so raised the cost that even capitalists will have to reconsider their love affair with "the peaceful atom." ■

IN THESE TIMES

(USPS 352-310)

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except the first week of January and the fourth week of July by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401. Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Illinois. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices: 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

EDITORIAL

James Weinstein, *Editor*, M.J. Sklar, *Associate Editor*, Florence Hamlish Levinsohn, *Managing Editor*, John Judis, *Political Editor*, Patricia Aufderheide, *Cultural Editor*, David Moberg, *National Affairs Editor*, Mark Naison, *Sports*, Diana Johnstone (Paris), Mervyn Jones (London), Bruce Vandervort (Geneva), David Mandel (Jerusalem), *Foreign Correspondents*, Steve Rosswurm, *Librarian*, Ken Rattner, *Proofreader*.

BUSINESS

William Sennett, James Weinstein, *Co-publishers*, Jan Czarnik, *General Manager*, Pat Vander Meer, *Circulation*, Ellen Deirdre Murphy, *Advertising/Promotion*, Bill Rehm, *Office*, Steve Rosswurm, *Special Projects*.

ART

Kerry Tremain, *Director-on-leave*, Tom Greensfelder, *Acting Director*, Lester Dore, *Associate Director*, Dolores Wilber, *Assistant Director*, Jim Rinnert, *Composition*, Pam Rice, *Camera*, Ken Firestone, *Photographer*.

BUREAUS

SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 110, Atlanta, GA 30308, (404)881-1689. NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212)865-7638. BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 8 Thayer Place, Brookline, MA 02146, (617)738-9707. CALIFORNIA: Larry Remer, 3609 4th St., San Diego, CA 92103, (714)225-1128.

SPONSORS

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh Delacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David Du Bois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Frances Putnam Fritchman, Stephen Fritchman, Barbara Garson, Eugene D. Genovese, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Herbert Marcuse, David Montgomery, Carlos Muñoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weinstein, William A. Williams, John Womack Jr.

The entire contents of IN THESE TIMES is copyright © 1979 by Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. All rights reserved. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All editorial, advertising and business correspondence should be sent to: IN THESE TIMES, 1509 N. Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, IL 60622. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to P.O. Box 228, Westchester, IL 60153. Subscriptions are \$19.00 a year (\$35.00 for institutions; \$32.00 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by IN THESE TIMES become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois.

IN THE NATION

THE BIG LEAK

The China Syndrome Sequel

By Joanna Foley

PHILADELPHIA

IN MOVIE THEATERS NEAR HARRISBURG, Pa., *The China Syndrome* was playing. Meanwhile, a real life version of the scenario began 16 miles to the southeast at Three Mile Island. As the nation's worst nuclear accident unfolded with radiation spread over 2000 square miles and a meltdown threatened in the reactor's core, life seemed to first imitate, then surpass, art at Unit Two on the Susquehanna River. The movie's viewers could at least relax after two hours when the threatened meltdown was narrowly averted. But anxious observers all across the country had to wait almost a week to be certain that the real finale wouldn't feature an explosion, a meltdown or an evacuation.

Wednesday: At 4:00 a.m., a neighboring farmer in the village of Goldsboro heard a loud noise and saw a geyser of steam over the plant. Inside, equipment failures were taking place while the plant operated at 97 percent of capacity. First, filters clogged in the primary cooling system around the reactor, causing two pumps to fail. The cooling system built up water pressure and blew open a safety valve in the pressurizer, which then stuck open.

This allowed radioactive cooling water to escape from the primary cooling system and flow onto the floor of the reactor's container. Without the cooling water, the exposed fuel rods overheated, releasing radioactive gases. The backup cooling system began replacing the leaking coolant, then apparently was turned off by operator error before being turned on again. Then 15,000 gallons of radioactive water were pumped from the reactor to the auxiliary building where the vent system had no radiation filters. The water vaporized and was released over the surrounding farmlands and suburban homes, contaminated with radioactive iodine, krypton and xenon.

Three hours later state officials learned about the accident from Metropolitan Edison, the plant's manager and part owner. The company said it had waited to find out if radiation had escaped. When the release was verified, a general emergency was declared.

Many criticized the delay. One observer wondered if there was an intention to conceal the accident. Just as in the movie. Kay Pickering, a member of Three Mile Island Alert, a nuclear watchdog group, says that other residents have reported loud noises and steam geysers since the plant's Unit One began operating in 1974. "Maybe they waited so long to report it because accidents had occurred before and the plant had been able to turn the situation around," she said.

At 11:00 a.m. Met Ed intentionally vented more steam over the area. "The officials faced a difficult choice of venting radioactive gas into the environment or risking a pressure buildup that might burst the containment walls around the reactor," said Dr. Judith Johnson of the statewide Environmental Coalition on Nuclear Power.

"Even though the containment walls are concrete four feet thick, the company knew that Unit One's containment had voids in the concrete big enough for a man to sit in. The company probably feared that this containment wasn't solid enough to withstand the pressure."

Whatever the utility officials' fears, their first statements to the media were reassuring. "The plant is cooling down

Unlike the movie, the real life drama took a week to unfold. And the effect on hundreds of thousands of local residents, and on the industry, will last a lot longer.

Pennsylvania Civil Defense deputy director Craig Williamson looks over possible evacuation plans.

in an orderly fashion, with no consequences to the public," said one spokesperson. Another declared, "We're not in a China Syndrome situation."

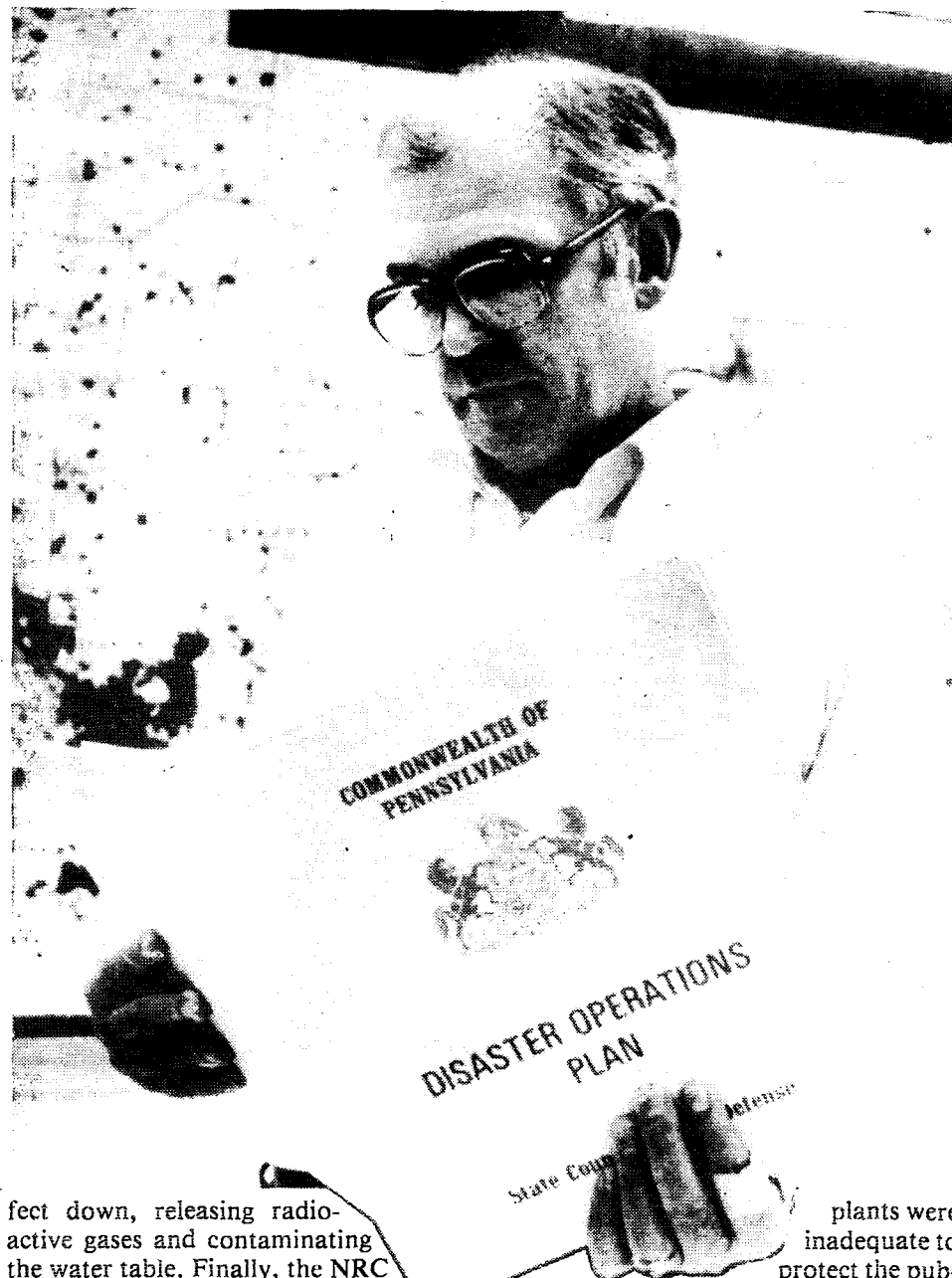
Government officials at first were scarcely equipped to dispute those assessments. Pennsylvania had no equipment to check plant radiation; the Nuclear Regulatory Commission maintains no monitoring instruments at this site or any other plant. Soon, however, NRC made its own measurements and reported that radiation levels outside were up to 3 millirems an hour, compared to the normal .01 and that direct radiation was beaming through the walls of the reactor containment as well as being released in steam.

By early afternoon I boarded the New York Metroliner for Pennsylvania, planning to stop briefly in Philadelphia for the first demonstration held in response to the accident. There I listened as the Keystone Alliance accurately previewed the next two day's events. Keystoneers warned that rising levels of radiation might be dangerous and that the reactor wasn't yet under control. Reluctantly, I decided not to go to Three Mile Island.

Thursday: The severity of the accident became increasingly clear when NRC chief Dr. Joseph Hendrie admitted that the reactor core was damaged and added, "The radiation we see is not a level I would take casually." Radioactive steam emissions continued at the plant. Higher than normal levels of radioactivity were detected 20 miles away. Prominent nuclear critics were concerned about the radiation levels. At a Harrisburg press conference, Dr. Ernest Sternglass, a University of Pittsburgh radiology professor, called for the evacuation of pregnant women and preschool children from an area within a three-mile radius of the plant. Dr. George Wald, a Nobel laureate in medicine, joined Sternglass in disputing the prevailing view that radiation is harmless below a certain threshold. They said it increases the long-term risks of cancer.

Although 500 people worked at the nuclear plant, the possible health problems of workers went largely unreported. Fifteen were contaminated with radiation, four severely, out of an estimated 60 on duty when the accident occurred. Others would be contaminated later. Soon nuclear supporters began claiming that nuclear plants had never killed anyone, ignoring deaths and injuries to workers in accidents from Oregon and Washington to Michigan.

Friday: It was a China Syndrome kind of day. In nuke industry slang, a China syndrome is the dangerous situation where an overheated reactor melts through the floor, into the earth and, theoretically, all the way to China. Actually, scientists think a melted core should stop about 50



feet down, releasing radioactive gases and contaminating the water table. Finally, the NRC admitted publicly what activists had been saying privately for two days—the Three Mile Island accident could still result in a meltdown. The core was still hot and uncontrolled. Complicating the problem were the bubbles of gases collecting in the reactor and its containment. If the bubbles blocked the cooling water from the core, they would cause overheating and a possible meltdown.

This danger plus the heaviest yet emission of radioactive steam seemed to call for both action and reassurance from government officials. Governor Thornburgh closed schools within a five-mile radius, urged pregnant women and preschool children to leave and asked residents within a ten-mile radius to stay indoors. As for reassurance, Lt. Gov. Scranton announced that he had toured the site and felt fine after receiving 80 millirems in two hours. President Carter dispatched NRC regulator Harold Denton as his personal representative to manage the crisis.

The press and even government officials complained that they found it hard to sort through contradictory explanations to figure out what was really happening. But then Met Ed's press relations reached a new level of candor when reporters questioned the dumping of 400,000 gallons of contaminated water into the Susquehanna. "I don't know why we need to tell you each and every thing we do," snapped vice president John Herbein.

Saturday: When the gas bubbles were found to be potentially explosive hydrogen and oxygen, evacuation of 600,000 people became a serious possibility. Officials discovered that Pennsylvania's evacuation plan was not one of the ten that met federal standards. Coincidentally, the government accounting office released a new report that said the evacuation plans for areas adjacent to nuclear

plants were inadequate to protect the public. Many residents left on their own. A total of 200,000 would eventually depart.

The future of nuclear energy was heatedly debated in the media with a few industry officials and optimists detecting a silver lining behind the steam cloud hanging over Three Mile Island. Dr. Vince Sailor, a Brookhaven lab physicist, said, "The system designed to protect the public works quite well."

Sunday: While most people left, others were just arriving. President Carter arrived for a 25-minute visit, accompanied by Mrs. Carter but not Amy. His carefully chosen words suggested that he was still committed to a role for nuclear power in his energy plans. Also arriving to study the problems were 1000 technicians and consultants from other power plants, universities and foreign countries.

The hydrogen bubble problem was such a new wrinkle, according to Dr. Denton, that it had never been anticipated by plant designers or nuclear experts. As plant officials worked to reduce it, they couldn't be certain they were succeeding because it was difficult to measure. Gradually, the bubble shrank, reduced by the use of hydrogen recombiners which turned the gas back into water.

Monday: A day for mostly good news: the bubble was significantly smaller and evacuation less likely; a state health official said that a person who stayed within ten miles of the plant had only received 9 millirems over the normal exposure; radioactive iodine was found in only minute amounts in a few samples of milk. The bad news was that radiation levels inside the reactor reached 30,000 rems, 3000 times above normal, knocking out one instrument and threatening others.

Continued on page 8.

WEBER CASE

The Supreme Court hears the arguments

By Barbara Koeppel

WASHINGTON

ON A CHILLY MARCH 28, THE lines on the steps of the Supreme Court began well before dawn. Eventually it stretched clear down to the street. People waited for hours, hoping to be among the few hundred admitted to the awesome and packed chamber to hear arguments in the landmark case of the *United Steelworkers of America v. Weber*.

The outcome of this case, in which the government, a major union and a large corporation find themselves unlikely allies, will chart the course of civil rights actions for years to come. Like the Bakke decision last year, it involves a claim by a young white man that he was the victim of reverse discrimination, due to an affirmative action agreement that favored minorities. With Bakke, it was in the medical school; with Weber, it is the factory.

Unlike the former, however, in which the Court's ruling hinged on the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, the new case puts the spotlight on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, specifically, on Title VII. That critical section says "No employer shall discriminate against any individual on the basis of race."

Oddly enough, both sides claim the Act works for them. Brian F. Weber, a 32-year-old steelworker, sued his union (the United Steelworkers of America-USW), and his employer (Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation) because he was refused entrance, though he had more seniority than two of the black workers chosen, to an on-the-job training program that ultimately leads to advancement and higher pay.

Weber was passed over, his lawyer, Michael R. Fontham told the Court, "because of his race." Thus, he charged, the union and company together designed the program that favored blacks and violated Title VII of the Act.

The opposite is true.

Lawyers for the USW, Kaiser and the federal government argue that the opposite is true, that the affirmative action plan the company adopted to correct glaring racial imbalances at the Gramercy, La., plant was precisely in keeping with the "intent" of Title VII. Moreover, they maintain, this is the only conclusion the court could reach, given the overall goal of the Act (to end segregation), its legislative history (the debate surrounding its passage), amendments added to the Act in 1972 and an executive order. They stress that the plan also benefitted whites, since it offered training that was not previously available.

"When Congress outlawed discrimination," the union's lawyer, Michael H. Gottesman said, "it meant discrimination of the 'invidious' kind, not the type resulting from an affirmative action program."

Unconvinced, Chief Justice Warren E. Burger asked, "If Congress had intended it (affirmative action), why didn't it write it into the law?"

Because of the continuing debate stemming from the law's ambiguous language, cases similar to Weber are pending in district courts across the country. Thus, the high court must decide whether affirmative action plans that involve quotas to remedy past discrimination against minorities and women are legal, even if they temporarily discriminate against white men.

"If they are not, what other way is there?" asked Congressman John Conyers (D-MI) at a press conference after the hearing. Conyers, a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, was adamant. "The program at Kaiser is doing

exactly what Congress envisioned under the Civil Rights law. There is just no other way to move from the effects of racism." The Caucus was one of 200 labor and legal groups and local governments that signed briefs in support of the USW, Kaiser and the government.

Kaiser clearly discriminated.

The plan adopted at Kaiser's 15 plants in 1974 (as well as at other steel and aluminum companies with USW contracts), was designed to bring more blacks into skilled positions. At the time, the company had little choice; it was under increasing pressure from the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) because blacks held less than 2 percent of the skilled jobs at the Gramercy plant (five out of 289) and 15 percent of the unskilled slots, though they represented 39 percent of the workforce in the area. Fearing loss of government contracts and costly lawsuits by minorities if the situation was not corrected, the company agreed to the training program, at a cost of \$15,000-\$20,000 per trainee.

Two lists of workers were drawn, one each for blacks and whites. As slots opened, workers were taken on a one-to-one basis from each list. Had the company compiled a single list, it would have insured the plant's racial makeup indefinitely, since blacks were far outnumbered by whites.

When Weber applied and was rejected, he took his case to court, also filing in behalf of other white workers at the plant. Both the district and appeals courts ruled in his favor. They found the program violated Title VII, since no evidence was produced at the trials that the blacks admitted to the program were previously discriminated against in the plant.

But on this key point—the matter of prior discrimination—Kaiser's record is unclear. Testimony on the company's hiring practices at the earlier trials was provided by just three witnesses, all white: two were Weber's fellow workers and one was a representative of management. And that gave the high court food for thought. "Who spoke for the Negro?" Justice Thurgood Marshall asked Fontham.

The crucial question.

The question is crucial. For its part, Kaiser was determined to prove that the racial imbalance the program sought to remedy was the result, not of its own discriminatory policies, but of society's ills, of a long history of blacks being excluded from technical schools and apprenticeship programs. It also contended that it had actively tried to recruit skilled black workers from the community but failed because they weren't there.

Such claims are questionable. High school diplomas were required even for unskilled laborers' jobs, while for more skilled positions, workers needed five years prior experience. Requirements like these have long been recognized as subtle but effective barriers to black employment and advancement. Moreover, the OFCCP found that Kaiser was willing to lower its prior experience requirement for whites but not for blacks. Further, it had warned the company about its employment policies in 1971 and 1973. On two other occasions, Kaiser was ordered to pay \$500,000 in suits filed by blacks in its other plants.

But the company had to pursue this line, and the government and USW agreed, because Kaiser was caught in a bind. If it acknowledged it had engaged in discriminatory practices, it would have faced stiff lawsuits from blacks and women. But if it didn't initiate the training program, and continued past policies, it also invited the suits. Thus Judge Wisdom, of the Louisiana district court noted, in his dissenting opinion, that the company



Brian F. Weber, the 32-year-old steelworker suing on "reverse discrimination."

The key issue is whether affirmative action can go on without a prior finding of discrimination.

should be given the leeway to start an affirmative action program, voluntarily.

In the same vein, Noyes Thompson Powers, Kaiser's lawyer, told the high court, "If there must be proof of prior discrimination and the victims identified, this is a prohibitive price to pay and it will literally end affirmative action."

And when Weber's lawyer repeated Kaiser's claims, that its hiring policies were fair, Justice Marshall asked, "Do you expect Kaiser to say it openly discriminated?" The lawyer was forced to admit the obvious. "No, your honor. I don't."

Congress intended voluntary action.

For its part, the USW is anxious to prove the 1964 Act permits affirmative action plans. If the racial imbalance is left uncorrected and federal contracts are withdrawn, this will cost jobs for USW members and possible lawsuits from minorities.

Further, Gottesman argued that Congress intended such plans to be reached voluntarily, through collective bargaining between the union and management. This position was taken to appease some of the unions that signed the USW brief but whose policies vis-a-vis black members are racist.

But Deputy Solicitor General Lawrence Wallace, who argued the government's position, sharply disagreed. He insisted that the 1964 law required affirmative action. Further, if compliance is not reached in the private sector, the government must intervene.

"If we say it is merely a voluntary matter, one to be entered into only between labor and management, this undermines effective enforcement of Title VII."

Wallace added that the marriage between the USW and Kaiser could easily end, and with it, affirmative action. "The Court," he said, "is being asked to take it on faith that an employer like Kaiser will continue to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars on a program like this, even if no court could order it to do so."

On this point, most observers close to the case agree that Kaiser might not have adopted the special training program if it had not been threatened with government action.

Thirteenth Amendment argument.

Arthur Kinoy, professor of law at Rutgers University and one of the authors of the brief submitted by the Affirmative Action Coordinating Committee (signed by the National Lawyers Guild, the National Conference of Black Lawyers and others), insists the case should have been argued on the Thirteenth Amendment.

"Besides ending slavery, this Amendment committed the nation to eliminating all those institutions that continue its effects and exclude black people. It is obvious, however, that Kaiser would not frame the case on these grounds, since that would mean an obligation to eliminate discrimination throughout the corporation. And the USW wouldn't be comfortable with this line, either, because that might antagonize some other unions in the AFL-CIO, which have a history of discriminatory practices."

Only seven of the justices heard the case: Justice John Paul Stevens removed himself (it was thought he represented Kaiser at an earlier time) and Justice Lewis F. Powell was recuperating from surgery. But, though justices not present at hearings traditionally don't join in the decision, it may be that Powell will include himself, if health permits.

Speculation about the decision, expected sometime in early summer, is risky. Some believe that the line-up on the Bakke case provides a clue: Justices Burger, Powell, Renquist, Stevens and Stewart ruled in favor of Bakke (striking down the medical school's special admissions policy which set aside slots for minorities and women) while Justices Brennan, Blackmun, Marshall and White dissented. They say that with Stevens and Powell removed from the case, the Court will rule against Weber.

If this occurs, there is certain to be resentment among white workers, not just at Kaiser, but all over the country. The nation's ailing economy, deepening inflation and unemployment, already force workers to compete in a shrinking job market. Programs that offer preferential treatment to blacks are thus seen as obstacles to advancement by whites.

According to Ric Pfeffer, a professor of political science at Johns Hopkins University, "The result of such programs is ironic. Racism, as it is used by management, is a way of dividing workers. At the same time, steps taken to correct it, like affirmative action programs, create short-term tensions and also split the workers."

"But in the long run, when all workers are treated equally (which these plans attempt to insure?)" Pfeffer said, "the tensions will be reduced."



TEAMSTERS

Drivers are confused by half-strike

By David Moberg

WHILE 600 TEAMSTERS OFFICIALS were gathering inside the Sheraton O'Hare's "Hall of Kings" to hear reports on the trucking strike and lockout last week, Harry Flack and 50 other Teamsters covered by the Master Freight Agreement (MFA) picketed outside.

Flack had driven from Green Bay, Wis., to tell the negotiating committee, consisting of two representatives from each of the 350 locals under the contract, what he wanted from negotiations.

"I'm not complaining about wages," he prefaced his remarks. Instead he was complaining about his company, Schneider, having been included under a "special commodity" rider in the last contract. That changed the formula for his pay, resulting in money lost and increased paperwork. To recover his lost money, he now has to resort to a slow and often ineffective grievance procedure. Meanwhile, the company is cutting out city drivers by violating terms of the contract that govern deliveries and pick-ups.

His friends, most of them activists with Teamsters for a Democratic Union, had similar complaints about the way the contract—and frequently weak local union leadership—permitted companies to undermine their working conditions and to take away any power on the job. "It constantly makes you fight for job security and everything else you're supposed to get," Flack complained.

Worst of all, John Day, 54, for 32 years a truck driver, said, "We have no idea of what they're doing. They haven't told us a thing."

When Teamster president Frank Fitzsimmons emerged from the meeting, he had little information to offer reporters. He pledged to stand by the demand that appears to be the main cause of the breakdown of negotiations the evening of March 31. That's when the Teamsters called a "selective strike" against 73 of the Trucking Management, Inc., members. TMI responded with a lockout against an estimated 300,000 truck drivers and dock workers.

The apparent stickler was a Teamster demand for calculation of cost-of-living increases twice a year rather than annually. Trucking companies complained that it would cost them more.

Trucking companies also feared that more frequent cost-of-living adjustments would subject them to Interstate Commerce Commission decisions about rates more frequently and possibly hurt their profits through delays in rate hikes to cover wage increases. ICC chairman Daniel O'Neal hardened the company's negotiating stance by warning that labor cost

hikes above the 7 percent wage guidelines might not be used to justify higher trucking rates. Late last week he softened his position, possibly to facilitate a strike settlement.

The cost-of-living proposal would probably not have precipitated a strike if Carter's wage guidelines had not been lurking in the background. However, the Teamsters talks had been seen as the first big test of the guidelines since their inception.

After Teamsters scaled down their original demands, management essentially agreed to wage increases of \$1.50 over three years (including 58¢ to cover cost-of-living adjustment from last year) and a \$30 per week contribution to the pension and health and welfare funds.

Each Teamster conference can divide up the \$30 increase as it wants between benefit funds, but in the Central States region, two-thirds of the money will go for pensions. That would reportedly boost Central States pensions from \$450 or \$550 a month (for those retiring at 57 or 60 respectively) to \$625 or \$775 a month at the end of the contract. It's a sizeable boost, but TDU organizer Ken Paff ar-

gues it is inadequate, since no cost-of-living protection is included and since there had been no increase in pensions in six years.

The cost of the whole package was estimated at 30 percent over three years, assuming 8.5 percent inflation. Since the Council on Wage and Price Stability informally conceded that 21 cents of the 58-cent catch-up pay in the first year would not be considered "new money," the contract might be considered within the guidelines. The semi-annual cost-of-living increase could push the package over the limit slightly.

As layoffs in auto and other industries affected by the lockout and strike increased, there were rumblings from the government about seeking a Taft-Hartley injunction, despite Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall's disavowal of that approach. Some observers saw the company lockout as an attempt to provoke an injunction, but it also represented an effort by the industry's bargainers to keep the fragmented companies united.

Meanwhile, many of the issues that most concern drivers like Harry Flack were not even being discussed. The un-

ion was reportedly still pressing some proposals for improved truck safety, a guaranteed 40-hour work week, a few more days off work, severance pay, lodging and meal allowances for drivers and some time off for drivers after they have served five consecutive tours of driving duty. However, negotiations on the all-important supplementary agreements, which often affect the pace of work and the rights of people on their jobs, had not even started, according to one local official on the negotiating committee.

Teamsters around the country were reportedly confused by the half-hearted strike and the resulting lock-out. Many doubted that the cost-of-living dispute—estimated by TDU as involving 25 cents—could be the cause of the strike. Although there were many demands for which the freight workers might have been willing to strike, they did not know if these were even being considered. They will certainly expect to see some contract gains as a result of their strike/lockout. But for now the question for many, posed at the top of a leaflet Harry Flack handed out, was, "What's the strike all about?"

REALITY IS SATIRE

H-bomb spoof is held up

The publication of *Seven Days'* April 13 issue has been prevented by a series of incidents that include comments by the U.S. Attorney's office about an article that they have never seen.

To dramatize support for *The Progressive's* spirited resistance to official censorship, the editors of *Seven Days* prepared their own mock H-bomb recipe, "How To Make Your Own H-Bomb," which provides tongue-in-cheek, step-by-step instructions, complete with photographs, for whipping up an H-bomb in your own kitchen.

A key step is: "Fill a standard-size bucket one-quarter full of liquid uranium hexafluoride. Attach a six-foot rope to the bucket handle. Now swing the rope (and the attached bucket) around your head as fast as possible. Keep this up for about 45 minutes."

The instructions call for stuffing the uranium into an old vacuum cleaner instead of a bomb casing, and cautions would-be H-bomb "cooks" that they might begin to glow in the dark during the process.

The recipe begins: "The heart of the successful H-bomb is the successful A-

bomb. Once you've got your A-bombs made, the rest is frosting on the cake. All you have to do is set them up so that when they detonate they'll start off a hydrogen-fusion reaction."

The article is clearly a satire. However, the stripper (the person who makes the film the printer uses) and the government (who never actually saw the article) did not think it was funny. Upon calling the U.S. Attorney's office for advice, the stripper was told "Don't touch it."

The next day, *Seven Days* was asked to furnish the government with information on the article's content, but the editors refused on the grounds that this constituted prior restraint.

In the end, the government backed down, but the incident had enough of a "chilling" effect that the stripper chose not to work on this issue. The U.S. Attorney also informed *Seven Days'* lawyer, "as a service to his clients," of various laws pertaining to the dissemination of restricted data, violation of any one of which could put them in jail. This was another, not very subtle attempt to discourage them from publishing an article

the government had not even seen.

The printer agreed to do the stripping and promised to get the issue out on schedule. The head of the printing firm said he showed the article to a physicist who told him everything in the article was already in the public domain. As of today, however, the magazine has still not been printed. The printer's lawyer refuses to give any reasons for the delay and will not definitely promise to print it.

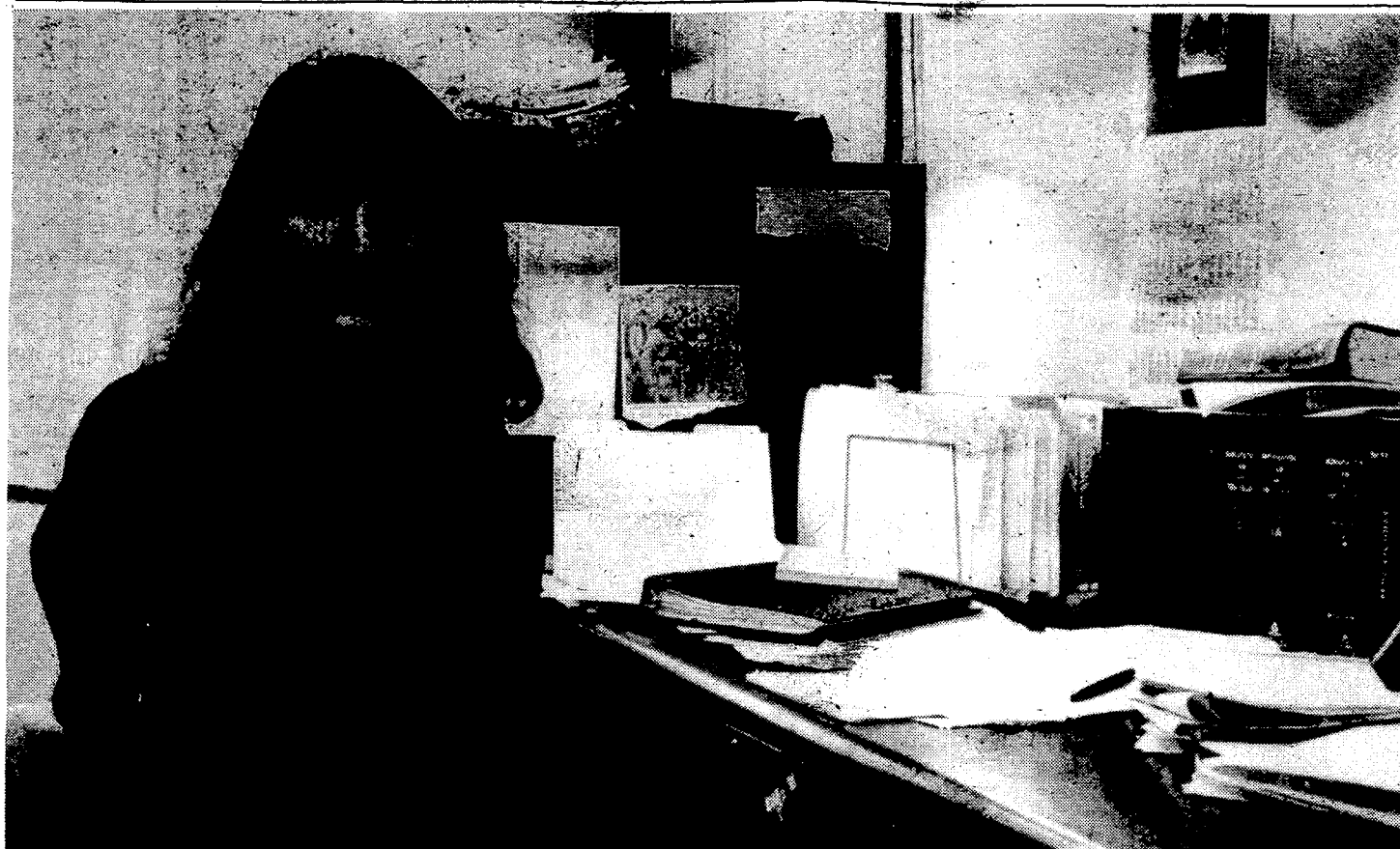
When told of the incident, John Buell, associate editor of *The Progressive*, said, "This indicates how the cancer of secrecy spreads, and shows the absurd and ridiculous lengths to which it can go."

Seven Days editors said, "This incident tells us something about the probable consequences of Judge Robert Warren's precedent-setting decision barring *The Progressive* from printing its article on the hydrogen bomb. By invoking 'national security,' the government can force the press to submit for approval, in advance of publication, any material it wishes to examine." It can even prevent the publication of a satire on the production of a bomb that it hasn't even read.

How to Make Your Own H-Bomb

Seven Days
Homemade H-BOMB
Recipe

LAW AND ORDER



Peggy Winter, co-counsel with Leonard Boudin for the Socialist Workers Party

Court protects government

By Nick Sullivan

NEW YORK

"It has been the policy of the American as well as of the English courts to treat the government when appearing as a litigant like any private individual. Any other practice would strike at the personal responsibility of government agencies which is at the base of our institutions."

—Court's Opinion,
Bank Line v. U.S. (1947)

SAYING THAT GRIFFIN BELL "IS not simply an attorney but the chief law enforcement officer of the nation" and that the "courts accordingly owe him respect as an official," the Second Circuit Court of Appeals vacated the contempt order issued last July against the U.S. Attorney General for his refusal to turn over 18 FBI informer files considered crucial to the *Socialist Workers Party v. United States Government* case.

In a bizarre twist of legal logic, the court first refused to consider the government's motion for an appeal of the contempt order, saying that the Attorney General or any Cabinet member is not above the law, but then invoked the rarely used writ of *mandamus* to vacate the order. *Mandamus* allows an appeals court, in "extraordinary circumstances," to reverse a lower court that is thought to have abused its power. The extraordinary circumstance was the ironic position of the Attorney General as defendant. The abuse of power was the contempt order issued by U.S. District Court Judge Griesa. "The exercise of that power is, even in the context of a private attorney, awesome in its implications," read the court's opinion.

SWP v. U.S., the first suit ever levied by a political party against the government, is nearing its sixth anniversary and the case is still in pre-trial discovery. But controversy over which and how many secret informer files the FBI should relinquish to the SWP's attorney, Leonard Boudin, has brought the parties to court

six times—twice to the Supreme Court and four times to the Court of Appeals.

Judge Griesa demanded the files last year and was upheld by the Court of Appeals. When Bell refused to comply, Griesa found him in contempt. Now, the Court of Appeals has reversed itself, and ignored its own decision in the *IBM v. U.S.* case (1973) to uphold a similar subpoena of government documents. Justice Oakes wrote both the *Bell* and the *IBM* opinions.

The court appears to have been persuaded not by logic, but by the power of the defendant's own words, quoted in the written opinion. Bell: "Releasing these 18 files would have a significantly detrimental effect on law enforcement by undermining the pledge of confidentiality which the FBI makes to informants."

"This is a very, very large case," says attorney Boudin. "The court has placed the Attorney General in a preferred position. It's a novel view, urged by Nixon, which creates a double standard. It's an establishment operation. And I don't believe I've ever used those words before."

(Boudin is 66). But there's still no question about our ability to win the case, even without the files."

The FBI has admitted that it employed 1300 informants, 300 of whom were members of SWP or YSA (Young Socialists Alliance). The Court of Appeals suggested that Judge Griesa appoint a "special master" to review the 18 files in question and extract all pertinent information without disclosing the informants' identities. Griesa has agreed, but the government has indicated that it might want to censor the special master's activities.

Boudin says he will petition the Supreme Court for an appeal within 30 days, and he thinks the actual trial may start in October. However, on March 21, two days after the decision, Boudin wrote a letter to Barbara Babcock, the Assistant Attorney General, proposing an out-of-court settlement. The letter, on SWP's behalf, asked injunctive relief from all government surveillance; that the government declare the SWP to be a legal political party entitled to the same legal protection as other parties; that the government admit FBI investigation of the SWP has been pursued for 40 years without justification and without producing evidence of criminal activity; and that the government pay \$5 million in damages, plus court costs. The SWP suit, still in effect, asks \$40 million in damages.

"The central point is not the money," says SWP member and Political Rights Defense Fund spokesperson Larry Seigle, "but that the government accept the SWP as a political party. And since the court has ruled that the files remain secret, as the FBI wished, we are asking them to concede the case. It is quite clear that this government cannot exist without a secret police."

There are indications that Judge Griesa, the presiding trial judge, will be a fair arbitrator if and when the trial begins. He has shown increased willingness, especially since the FBI lied about Timothy Redfern's burglary of a Denver SWP office in 1976, to play hardball with the government. Griesa's contempt citation was the first such charge against a U.S. Attorney General.

"Griesa was cold to us at first," says Peggy Winter, a co-counsel for the SWP, "but after five years he's become quite sympathetic. And he certainly didn't appreciate their lying."

Thomas E. Moseley, counsel for the government, said that it would be "unethical to comment on a case still in progress."

HERONNER

A record win for Byrne, independent aldermen

By Lori Granger

CHICAGO

THE SMASHING MAJORITY THAT elected Jane Byrne mayor obscured some election results that have at least equal potential for fundamental changes in the way Chicago is governed.

The City Council came out of the April 3 balloting with a real independent block: the ranks of the Thrilling Three, as City Hall reporters sometimes called the noisy independents, has been swelled to an unprecedented eight members.

What is less clear is exactly what the "independent" label will mean with a new administration. The word used to designate a group with sharply defined edges—but not all sides are predicting more fluid lines and shifting coalitions. Apparently Chicago's political writers will have to expand their vocabularies beyond "independent" and "administration."

Byrne's whopping humiliation of businessman Republican Wallace Johnson by 82 percent of the vote topped her mentor Mayor Richard J. Daley's highest total of 78 percent in 1975.

And though Socialist Workers' Party candidate Andrew Pulley pulled a little less than candidate Willie Mae Reid did against Daley in 1975, his workers are saying the campaign represents a substantial success for them.

Campaign manager Bobbie Bagel explained that she views that vote of 15,000—or 2 percent—as "people who are really drawn to our ideas."

"We think that a lot of Willie Reid's (1975 SWP mayoral candidate) votes were pure protest votes, people who were fed up with Mayor Daley. But people have a tremendous amount of illusions about Jane Byrne, and we think that the simple anti-Machine vote isn't there."

"Instead, what we got is votes from people who were really interested in our perspective. We think that is very progressive, and we're going to go out and try to reach those people."

Had Pulley gotten 5 percent of the vote, the party would have been assured an automatic ballot position in the municipal election four years from now. But Bagel says recent court decisions have cut the number of signatures the party must get to place a candidate on the ballot, and another candidacy then is probable.



Mayor-elect Byrne at her headquarters election eve.

Helen Shiller, an outspoken North Side liberal, appears to have lost by a couple of hundred votes to incumbent Ralph Axelrod, a gray and silent former member of the Cook County Sheriff's office, but other races will place a number of wild cards in the Council deck.

The 29th Ward, a black West Side area that has never returned an independent, threw out incumbent LeRoy Cross, by 4224 votes for Danny K. Davis to 3633 for Cross.

In two other races, black voters turned out white aldermen. Alexander Adduci lost the 9th Ward 4976 to 7601 for black

Robert Shaw. In the 7th Ward, Joseph Bertrand, a black, and city treasurer until dumped this year apparently because of his ward's poor vote totals in recent elections, defeated white incumbent Robert Wilinski. Bertrand had some help from Byrne.

And longtime black community activist Niles Sherman won the 21st Ward's seat—open since Alderman Bennett Stewart was hustled into the late Congressman Ralph Metcalfe's post in a bit of sleight-of-hand that had the black community howling "plantation politics"—by 9222 to 7819 for Stewart's choice Krishna Ligon.

REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

National demonstrations are held

By Lori Granger

A BROAD RANGE OF REPRODUCTIVE rights issues brought at least 10,000 people out in demonstrations held across the U.S. on March 31. It was the first nationwide organizing effort of the year-old Reproductive Rights National Network, part of an international campaign, and organizers were calling it a success.

The effect of coordinated demonstrations in 18 European countries, however, was still unknown by press time.

Though the demonstrators were not overwhelmed with media attention, they were philosophical about that. "It's always problematic," one said.

The effort was the first nationwide attempt to combine the issues of abortion, sterilization abuse, child care, gay rights, workplace sterilization and a range of reproductive issues.

"It's more consistent," said Celia Petty in Cincinnati, where 75 women turned out in pouring rain for a rally. "It's actually easier to organize around. Somehow, it's put the issue of abortion into a context."

Petty, whose reproductive rights group started a year ago in response to violence at some Ohio abortion clinics, welcomes the national effort. "A year ago we felt really isolated," she said.

After the clinic incidents, including one at Cincinnati where a firebomb was thrown—but didn't go off—and a successful firebombing in Cleveland, Petty said women were asking, "Where is the women's movement, so that we can have an organized response?"

"We found it difficult to get people motivated around the single issue of abortion," Petty says. But she credits other issues with providing a positive wedge for



Demonstrators at a rally in New York's Union Square.

The March 31 events were part of an international day for women.

attracting a range of women.

The March 31 demonstrations were called as an international day last year by an international meeting on reproductive rights. In this country, the focus was on a demand for defeat of the Hyde Amendment—prohibiting use of Medicaid funds for abortions—and enforce-

ment of HEW guidelines.

Working out of the New American Movement headquarters in Chicago, Marilyn Katz helped to bring out 100 people to a workshop at the Chicago Coalition for a National Health Service conference and another 50 to 75 to a demonstration at the city's Right to Life of-

fice downtown.

Katz, who says the March 31 events were "definitely a success," says, "In six months we'll see how well it goes."

"If you're really concerned about life, let's talk about child care, neonatal care, these issues," Katz says.

This week reproductive rights network people were already gearing up for their next big push, a demonstration at the Right to Life convention in Cincinnati the weekend of June 24.

Plans now include a march and rally through Cincinnati June 23, and Petty reports 20 local groups have joined to support that effort, so far. On the 24th, she says, a conference by the National Center for Constitutional Rights and the Lawyers Guild on right to life issues and the growth of the right wing will be held.

"We may do some kind of guerrilla theater around these issues as well," Petty says.

Katz says the real significance of the June activities will lie in an extensive effort to involve new labor groups and minority organizations in the reproductive rights movement. She said her group will attempt to involve 500 to 1,000 women in the demonstrations, primarily from the Midwest.

"Our perspective is that the fight for abortion can't be separated from reproductive rights," Katz says. "We have three principles—that abortion is a central right, that it can't be separated from sterilization and child care, and that it must rest in a context of other political and social reforms."

The complaint that the range of issues is too "abstract" for easy presentation to potential supporters is not borne out in the actual organizing effort, she says.

And Katz says her Chicago group has been surprised by the positive response to literature they've prepared on the issues. "There is a base out there," she says. ■

"An essential weapon in the battle to improve industrial and public health."

—Barry Commoner

Death On The Job Occupational Health and Safety Struggles in the United States

Daniel M. Berman

The long and bitter struggle for protection against unsafe and unhealthy working conditions has been thoroughly researched and reported by an author well equipped by training and experience to tell the shocking story. Berman presents authenticated evidence of callous greed by employers, coupled with indifference by government officials, which for many years has been able to prevent the establishment of adequate standards of safety or workers' compensation.

Hardcover: \$12.95 196 pages plus notes, appendices, and index GL4620



Make checks payable to **Monthly Review Press**. Add 50¢ postage. Send orders to **In These Times**, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622

By Susan Jaffe

NEW YORK

A BOUT 30 ORGANIZATIONS and 5000 people participated in the New York march in support of reproductive freedom. Children rode in a flatbed truck and held balloons as the march proceeded from the UN to Union Square. A brass band affiliated with the Bread and Puppet Theatre provided music.

The march through midtown Manhattan attracted the attention of shoppers and, at the Armed Forces Recruitment center in Times Square, the demonstrators were greeted by a man who shook a poster at them that read simply, "Bastards and murderers." The marchers' chanting and singing became louder as they passed him.

Anti-nuke sentiment was expressed by many speakers at the rally, particularly feminist poet Adrienne Rich. Rich associated the technology of sterilization abuse with the technology of nuclear madness. "When you have a civilization built by half the species on the backs of the other, there is no extreme to which that civilization will not go. It is gaining in momentum toward total destruction."

Another theme of the rally was internationalism. Kate Millet, who recently returned from Iran, spoke of the women there—"so fine and so brave"—and their struggle. "The uprising of women in Iran, the greatest force in the world today for international feminism, uniting the struggle of women everywhere for freedom, is like that of all of us, a struggle for choice and the control of our bodies, ourselves." She announced the formation of Circle of Support for Iranian Women (59 East 4th Street, New York, NY 10003) which will link the American and Iranian women's movements.



Feminists Adrienne Rich (left) and Kate Millet.

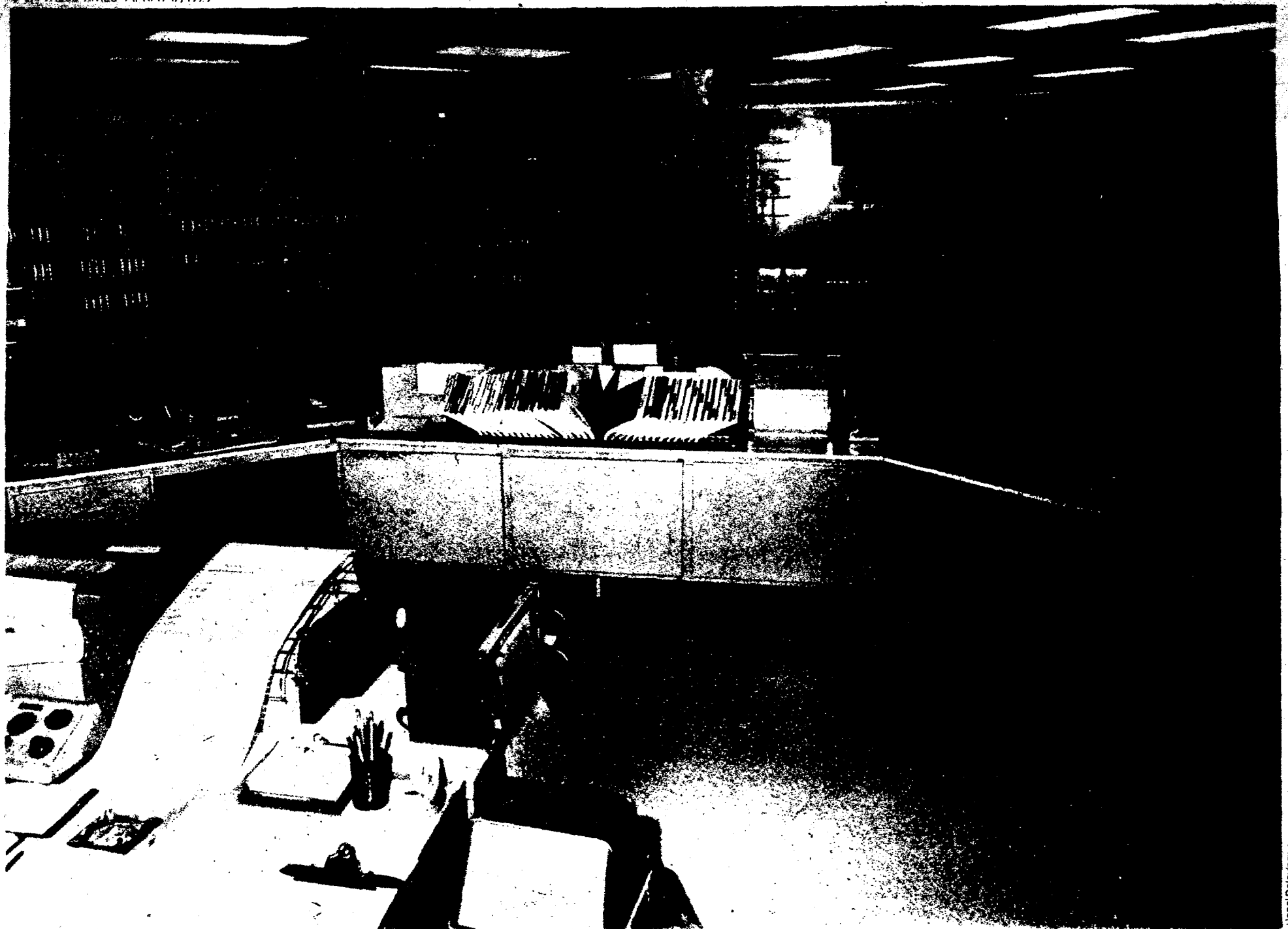
New York City Council member Ruth Messinger called for increased funding of human services in New York. The president of the NYC chapter of NOW spoke about the planned closings of several city hospitals, demanding that they stay open and funded.

The role of the Catholic Church in the "right-to-life" movement was attacked at the rally. Sharon Thompson, a CARASA member and an organizer of the demonstration, explained to reporters why St. Patrick's Cathedral was a focal point for protests: "The Catholic Church hierarchy has financed and organized a large part of the 'right-to-life' movement and is trying to make its unique religious views the law of this country."

Jennie Lefrieri of the New York State chapter of Catholics for a Free Choice told the rally that the "Catholic Church is not pro-life, it's anti-sex."

Other speakers included writer Ellen Frankfort, and representatives from the American Indian Movement and Women of All Red Nations, Welfare Action Coalition, Committee of Interns and Residents, CLUW (Coalition of Labor Union Women) and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Organizations represented in the march included the NYC, Nassau, Albany and Hudson County (N.J.) chapters of NOW, the National Lawyers Guild, Welfare Action Coalition, Young Socialist Alliance, Abortion Rights Movement, CARASA, Revolutionary Workers Headquarters, Action for Women In Chile, Puerto Rican Socialists, Barnard Women's Committee, Disabled in Action, Socialist Workers Party, CESA (Committee to End Sterilization Abuse), Y.A.W.F. Women, NYC NAM, HealthRight, Queens College Women's Center, Columbia Students of Nursing and many others.



Harrisburg disaster

Continued from page 3.

Tuesday: As the crisis receded, public attention turned to the prevention of future accidents. Were there problems to identify and correct in plant design? Both Three Mile Island units were designed by Babcock and Wilcox, as were eight other operating plants. Robert Pollard, a nuclear safety engineer with the Union of Concerned Scientists, says that the company's plants have had repeated malfunctions. J.S. Creswell, a Chicago NRC safety inspector, reported problems with the almost identical Rancho Seco plant in California and the Davis-Besse plant in Ohio. He notified Washington that the pressurizer may stop working or be difficult to control when the reactor heats up or cools down substantially. Three months ago, Creswell recommended that all licensing boards consider the broad design and equipment problems posed by Babcock and Wilcox plants. Although the NRC staff did not agree at the time, now it has ordered all operating B&W plants to conduct immediate inspections of seven safety problems and to report back within ten days.

Wednesday: Working to bring the reactor under control, Met Ed officials still found time for a personnel decision. Pregnant workers could stay five miles away from the plant, but they wouldn't be paid unless they took their vacation time.

Accidents stretch back 25 years.

Three Mile Island now heads the nuclear plant accident list that stretches back at least 25 years. The first was in 1952 when a reactor at Canada's Chalk River suffered a partial meltdown. A technician opened the wrong set of valves and raised the control rods out of position. Then the wrong buttons were pushed; the equipment to shut down the reactor failed to function. The reactor core was largely destroyed, a hydrogen explosion occurred and a million gallons of radioactive water flooded the structure.

In 1955, the first experimental breeder reactor at Idaho Falls suffered a partial core meltdown and came near to exploding.

ORDINANCE ON THE COMPETITION

Follow the arrows to the viewing hall.
The time you are allowed there:
five minutes from the moment you enter.
The rules:

You may stand still
or walk; under no circumstances
may you speak to anyone, not even a guard.
Whispering disqualifies you.
No smoking. No spitting.

To help you
here is a list
regarding the object displayed.
The valves projecting sidewise curve upward,
not for decoration, but because
of internal necessity. The topmost duct,
just below the grinder, emits a fluid
which is not dangerous.
It may be inhaled but not tasted.
The protrusion which appears to be a hump
is red hot to the touch.
The conical shape on which the object rests
lights up periodically. This aura
is similar to radiation though low in intensity,
well within the limits of safe dosage.
The crooked edge is filed to razor sharpness;
do not run your hand along it.
The grunting sound you may hear
is caused by the gears shifting.
The sparks flying out from time to time
must be considered in context.

The above message has been printed
for your safety and convenience.
All visitors and contestants
are invited inside at their own risk.
Each person is allowed one guess
as to the purpose of the object.
The first one to answer correctly
will be the winner.

The prize
is the object itself which will be delivered,
free of charge, to home or office.

—Naomi Lazard

ing. The reactor was destroyed and much low-level contamination ensued.

In 1957 the Windscale, England, breeder reactor caught fire in the core, ultimately burning 11 tons of uranium. All the containment features failed. Toxic radioactive materials poured from its stacks for several days, traveling as far as London, 300 miles away. About 30 workers were poisoned with ruthenium, hundreds of square miles of farm land were contaminated and milk was dumped into the Irish Sea.

"We almost lost Detroit," is how one nuclear engineer summed up what nearly happened as a result of an accident in the Enrico Fermi breeder reactor. A zirconium plate had been installed on the bottom of the reactor vessel as an added safety measure without the approval of the Atomic Energy Commission. It worked loose and clogged the flow of coolant. When an operator raised the control rods, the reactor went out of control. Finally, the nuclear reaction was stopped within one second of explosion. In its nine years of existence, the \$133 million plant had produced a total of 378 hours of power.

In 1975 a technician checking an air leak with a candle touched off a fire in the reactors at Brown's Ferry near Decatur, Ala. All five backup systems were crippled by the fire; only a small hydraulic pump prevented meltdown. After the fire raged for seven hours, the reactor took 16 more hours to bring under control.

One accident didn't happen only because of good luck. In June 1978, the Duane Arnold plant near Cedar Rapids, Iowa, was already shut down when a four-inch crack was discovered in the main water pipe coming out of the bottom of the reactor. Out of a total of eight ten-inch recirculation pipes, four had cracks. If the reactor had been operating, the water leaking out of the pipes could have caused a meltdown in 30 minutes.

The Enrico Fermi plant and two others were never operated again after their accidents; the future of Three Mile Island seems uncertain. Dr. Denton now says it might take four years to decontaminate, repair and put it on line again. But given the cost of the repair, NRC official Robert Bernero suggested that Three Mile Island's Unit Two may well become a concrete mausoleum, a sort of modern King Tut's tomb.

IN THE WORLD

EUROPEAN NUCLEAR ENERGY



Calder Hall, Cumberland, England, first nuclear power station in the world to produce electricity on a full commercial scale.

Battles over nuclear power loom

By Bruce Vandervort

GENEVA

IN FEBRUARY, SWISS VOTERS REJECTED a referendum proposition calling for community control over the siting of nuclear power plants. The margin was 51.2 percent to 48.8 percent with about half of the country's some 6 million inhabitants voting. Although the outcome is a setback for the Swiss anti-nuke movement, it can by no means be termed a defeat.

Indeed, given the strength of the nuclear power lobby in this country and the unfavorable conjuncture of events that preceded the vote, the movement would be justified in seeing its 48.8 percent poll as something of a victory.

The Swiss pro-nuke forces, including virtually the whole of the nation's banking and business establishment, the leadership of almost all of its political parties and trade unions and most of its press, made good use of popular fears of a future energy shortage.

Switzerland depends on imported petroleum for 70 percent of its energy needs and has been security-conscious to the point of panic since the oil embargo of 1973. Thus, the pro-nuke lobby could not help but profit from the OPEC oil price rise in December and the spectre of short supplies due to the political upheavals in Iran.

Despite this, a good chunk of the population chose to support a referendum initiative whose effect clearly would have been to make the construction of new nuclear plants more difficult. The Swiss anti-nuke movement can take heart from this.

Austrian nukes.

The Swiss referendum was the second important national vote on nuclear power in Europe in four months. Last November, Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky put his head and that of his ruling Social Democratic Party in a noose by backing a referendum proposition in support of starting up the country's first big nuclear power station, at Zwentendorf (near Vienna). Kreisky said that he would resign if the initiative was refused.

The Austrian anti-nuke movement, that included a group called "Trade Unionists Against Nuclear Power," as well as Nobel laureate Konrad Lorenz and the Chancellor's son, had claimed that the \$530 million plant was located in a known earthquake zone and that even government scientists were unwilling to vouch for its safety.

When the voters turned down the proposition by a margin of 50.5 percent to 49.5 percent, Kreisky reneged on his pledge. All of this may cost Kreisky and his party dearly in this spring's general elections.

While one can argue about the effectiveness of referenda to stop the nuclear lobbies, it must be agreed that individual Austrian and Swiss citizens at least had a chance to intervene directly in the nuclear

The main opposition to nuclear power in West Germany has come from a loose coalition of ecology groups that calls itself the "Greening of Germany" (*Gruene Liste Umweltschutz*) movement. Although active for some time locally, the GLU won national attention—and a place in Helmut Schmidt's bad books—for the first time last June when it took enough of the vote in regional elections to knock the Free

union, seems to have been singled out for special abuse. It took a nation-wide solidarity campaign to save him from expulsion.

More recently, a court sentenced Gerd Schulz to 22 months in prison for his role in the occupation of a future nuclear plant site back in March 1977. Schulz and nine other persons were grabbed at random on the Grohnde site and charged with the usual "crimes": disturbing the peace, resisting arrest and interfering with public property (there was a railroad track nearby).

Warning to anti-nuke folks.

Subsequently, 18 persons were brought to trial and, although 11 of them were acquitted, the court nevertheless ruled that the "Grohnde 18" should fork over \$7000 each to pay for police injuries and sick leave and damage to police equipment. The court ruling is seen as a clear warning to anti-nuke militants throughout Germany. In the future, physical acts of opposition to nuclear power will be considered illegal.

This precedent may soon be tested. The government wants to bury waste from the country's nuclear installations in salt domes at Gorleben, near the frontier with East Germany. Waste disposal has been a long-term political headache for the West German nuke industry: nobody wants a radioactive dump in their backyard and local politicians understandably have been reluctant to offer land in their bailiwicks for such purposes.

But, although approval has not yet been given for use of the Gorleben site, the state power company DKW has already begun buying up land. And an estimated \$6.5 million has been set aside for police protection of the site. Environmentalists are already on the scene, building windmills, setting up biogas units and planting trees.

The stakes are big. When and if completed, Gorleben will be big enough to take waste from 50 nuclear plants, including those that KWU is building for the Argentines and Brazilians. Thus, anti-nuke action threatens not only the state's domestic energy strategy but one of West Germany's lucrative export industries as well.

The showdown will come sometime in mid-year, when the authorities of the region are supposed to decide whether or not to give the green light to Gorleben. The decision will be a tough one: the governor of the region, Hans Albrecht, is one of the up-and-coming men of the opposition Christian Democratic Party.

Continued on page 10.

In most European countries the public has little opportunity to participate in decisions to use nuclear energy.

decision-making process. This is more than can be said for other nations of Western Europe.

In West Germany.

In neighboring West Germany, for example, there has never been anything like a national debate on nuclear power. As in Switzerland, the nuke became big business following the oil price rise of 1973-74. Since then, 15 nuclear power plants have come onstream, generating 8.8 million kilowatts of electricity a year.

This gives the Federal Republic the fifth largest nuclear power program in the world, after the U.S., the USSR, Japan and Great Britain. And, if the authorities in Bonn have their way, it will get even bigger. The government wants to triple nuclear energy output by the mid-'80s, thus meeting 20 percent of the country's electricity needs; by the year 2000, it hopes to have raised the figure to 27 percent.

But it is already clear that Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's government has been stymied—at least in the short term. Grassroots opposition to nuclear power has grown swiftly in the last two years, raising so many local challenges to the siting of nuclear installations that a virtual moratorium on new construction exists.

The government has had to admit that its 1985 target is unreachable; and the firm that has gained most from the West German nuclear boom, Siemens' Kraftwerk Union (KWU) subsidiary, is now forced to console itself with building nuclear power stations for the Argentines and Brazilians. KWU hasn't seen a new domestic order for three years, largely due to court tie-ups on sites and anti-nuke demos that are making construction financing harder to negotiate.

Democratic Party (FDP), the junior partner in Schmidt's ruling coalition, out of the Hamburg and Lower Saxony state legislatures. (The FDP failed to get the 5 percent of the votes needed to retain its seats under West German law.)

Just two weeks later, the anti-nuke movement got another boost when it was learned that the authorities had tried to cover up a serious mishap in a nuclear power station near Kiel in North Germany. It appears that radioactive steam was released into the atmosphere during a Sunday cleaning operation and that worse was avoided only because the reactor shut down by chance.

Public didn't know.

However, the state electrical company that runs the plant "neglected" to inform the surrounding population of the accident. The news didn't get out until the following Tuesday, when an anonymous caller tipped off the press.

Shortly thereafter, it was revealed that another German nuclear facility, the Biblis plant (Europe's largest), had sprung a leak, while yet a third had emitted radioactive water into the Elbe River.

The government's response to anti-nuke protests has been to launch a campaign of repression. A first step was to whip the country's powerful trade union confederation (DGB) into line. An "Energy Action Group" was set up within the DGB, with help from the nuclear lobby.

When a rival organization of anti-nuke trade unionists, called the "Life Action Group," was formed, efforts were made to expel its leaders and militants from the union movement. One of the organization's founders, Heinz Brandt, a former leader of the paper and printing workers'

CHINA DEFECTORS

Big influx of refugees to Hong Kong

By Wilfred Burchett

HONG KONG

THE INFLUX OF MAINLAND Chinese into Hong Kong has reached its highest level in 17 years. The governor of this British colony, Sir Murray Maclehoose, is currently in Peking to discuss the increase of refugees among other problems. Significantly, on March 24, the local press announced a record 393 arrests of illegal immigrants—the most in a single day since 1962. The average monthly influx of Chinese into Hong Kong jumped from 2000-3000 in 1974 to 11,000 last December, to about 18,000 in March. They are “legal” immigrants whose families requested entrance facilities for whom 11,000 applications were made in the two months since January 15, compared with 230 for the whole of 1978, and a far greater influx of “illegal” immigrants with neither Hong Kong entry visas nor mainland China exit visas. While the main publicity here focuses on Vietnamese “boat people,” three-quarters of whom are ethnic Chinese, mainland Chinese refugees outnumber them by four or five to one.

Among the major reasons cited for the dramatic increase of “illegals” is that China’s border war with Vietnam caused drastic reduction of their troops guarding the border with Kowloon-Hong Kong. The other reason is the defection of young people, many of them former Red Guards, sent from urban centers to rural communes and state farms. A third reason is the confusion and disillusionment with zigzags in Peking’s internal and foreign policies. The exodus of Chinese into southeast Asia—where there are now 20

million—was traditionally caused by wars and natural disasters. Fear of widening war with Indochina and dimming prospects of Hanoi-Peking negotiations is doubtless an additional factor.

Observers in this major China-watching outpost cite the border war as the reason for the radical pruning of China’s economic targets in the “four modernizations” (defense, industry, science-tech-

things, the cutback in economic targets seems part of the ongoing battle between Hua Guofeng, official successor to Mao Tse-tung, and his chief rival for party and state leadership and senior vice-premier Deng Xiaoping. It was Hua Guofeng who announced target figures but Deng Xiaoping who shouldered responsibility for the border war and subsequent pruning of economic goals.

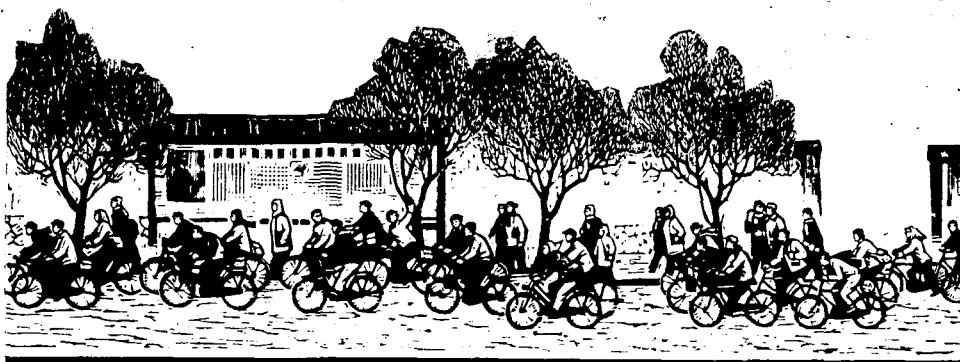
But this article also implied that the poor showing of Chinese troops proved the need for priority for the armed forces’ modernization. The counterattack, as the border wars were euphemistically described, “helped clear away some erroneous ideas on the question of war and a number of other questions.” And perhaps contributing to an explanation of the exodus of refugees—they are all male and overwhelmingly under 35 years—the article envisages the somber prospect that “it’s conceivable that the coming 20 years or more will not always be peaceful while we are working for socialist modernizations.”

Reading between the lines of Peking editorials and the attempt to quash the short-lived campaign for human rights, it’s clear that the Vietnam attack was a shock to public opinion and the poor showing of China’s elite forces against Vietnamese regional troops an even greater one.

Meanwhile, the opening to the West continues unabated, combined with the wooing of the overseas Chinese and the rehabilitation of what were formerly known as capitalist roaders, plus generous financial compensation for their losses during the cultural revolution. Part of the aim of the current visit of the British governor to Peking is to investigate the extent to which Hong Kong can benefit from the “four modernizations.” The latest trade delegation headed for Peking is a 34-member American team, one for whom there are hopes for a joint venture with the Chinese in the building of a Shanghai textile mill.

The phenomenon of former Red Guards streaming out while Western carpet-baggers fly in is an extraordinary symbol on the swing of China’s political pendulum since the death of Mao Tse-tung.

Former Red Guards sent to urban communes, those disillusioned with policy changes, swell the ranks of emigres.



nology and agriculture). Twenty important contracts signed with Japan since the end of 1978 have been indefinitely deferred. They include \$1.2 billion worth of equipment for a steel mill at Paoshan near Shanghai and \$500 million for fertilizer and petrochemical industries. The plan to increase present steel production by 30 million tons by 1985 has been halved and overall production targets been reduced from 60 to 45 million tons. The target of 400 million tons of grain by 1985 has also been officially declared as unrealistic. Apart from other

The Communist party organ *Peoples Daily* on Feb. 24 described target figures as “too high, giving rise to boasting, empty talk and fabricated figures and reports.”

The latest apologist for the aims and results of the border war is *Liberation Daily*, organ of China’s armed forces, one of Deng Xiaoping’s major sources of support. The March 26 issues commented that the border war “educated and tempered our people and consolidated and enhanced their patriotism and enthusiasm for transforming China.”

European nuclear power

Continued from page 9.

If West Germany has Europe’s biggest nuclear power capacity, France has its most ambitious and technologically-advanced program. Because of the country’s almost total dependence on outside sources for energy supplies, the French government greeted the 1973-74 oil price rise with a plan to draw 20 percent of its electricity from atomic power plants by 1985; the scheme would replace 45 million tons of oil per year and save 20 billion French francs (about \$4.6 billion).

Given the weakness of the National Assembly under the current French constitution, the program got off the ground without much opposition. And, when protest later began to be heard in communities where the new nuclear facilities were to be built, the government simply sent in the CRS, its paramilitary police.

At Malville (near Grenoble), soon to be the home of France’s newest and most sophisticated fast-breeder reactor, the 1200-megawatt “Super Phoenix,” police killed ecologist Vital Michalon and maimed two other demonstrators during a confrontation with anti-nuke action groups in July 1977.

In September 1978, police charged 15,000 demonstrators in Brest (Brittany), near the site of another big nuke plant, seriously injuring two protesters and an onlooker. The demonstrators included a contingent of local fishermen who—shades of Seabrook!—fear that hot water from the reactor will ruin shellfish beds in the nearby Atlantic.

As in West Germany, government fears for the future of its domestic energy programs are only part of the story behind the

repression of the anti-nuclear and ecology groups. In the face of an economic recession that shows no signs of going away, France and other Western European nations have been scrambling for all the foreign contracts they can get.

France’s atomic energy sector has big commercial potential, especially in the fields of fast-breeder research and reprocessing (or separating plutonium from nuclear waste). Its massive reprocessing center at La Hague is being expanded to handle nuclear waste from other European countries and from as far away as Japan.

La Hague gets the waste.

COGEMA, the private energy consortium that runs the La Hague complex, has just snared a contract to re-process 1600 tons of Japanese nuclear waste, at a cost of \$1.62 billion. The West Germans are also using La Hague to recycle their waste; they will pay COGEMA 2.5 billion marks to re-process 1705 tons of nuclear rubbish over several years.

Also, the “Super Phoenix” fast-breeder reactor has attracted investment from Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands and West Germany; these countries find it cheaper to produce plutonium in the French facility than to get into the fast-breeder field themselves.

The left socialist Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT), the majority trade union organization in France’s atomic energy production and research sector, while not clearly anti-nuke, has opposed both the Malville and La Hague expansion programs on health and safety grounds.

The CFDT is particularly suspicious of the La Hague project, that it wants shut down until tests are done to see if the new facilities are safe. The confederation believes that COGEMA is putting profits before the welfare of its workers.

If one lesson has been learned from the European anti-nuke experience, it is that the rush to nuclear power cannot be stopped by local or even national action, however well-organized. In Europe, a definite tie-in exists among the several national state and/or private concerns in-

involved in atomic energy.

Examples of this abound. In addition to the links described above with reference to Malville and La Hague, there are the Swiss agreements to buy enriched uranium from the West Germans and to bury nuclear waste in the Netherlands, and the use of the Windscale re-processing plant in the English Lake District by Japanese firms (another \$1.62 billion contract).

Confronting the pro-nuke lobby.

A beginning has been made in confronting the pro-nuke lobby at the European level. Last July, a recently-formed Federation of Citizens’ Initiatives for Environmental Protection demonstrated against the dangers of atomic power at the European Economic Community’s summit in Bremen. And ecology parties in several countries are planning to run candidates in the Europe-wide elections this June. This approach comes at an opportune time. Plans are being laid to develop the next generation of European fast-breeder reactors under the auspices of the EEC; the basic research is already underway at EEC labs in Mols, Belgium.

A good place to start building an international response to the nuclear power

interests is the trade union movement. Until now, the ecology groups in the vanguard of the anti-nuke movement have tended to disregard the unions, due to the almost general support of the European labor establishment for nuclear power. This view not only ignores the very real rank-and-file sentiment in several countries for alternative sources of energy, but also the possibility of bringing the big unions around to an anti-nuke policy. The environmentalists could profit from a look at events on the anti-nuke front in Ireland, where the movement is being led by the country’s largest trade union organization, the Irish Transport & General Workers’ Union.

Last year, the IT&GWU hosted a national conference of anti-nuclear groups and led a demonstration against the decision of the Irish government to build a nuclear power plant at Carnsore Point, near Wexford on Ireland’s East Coast. ■ A useful source of information on European anti-nuke movements and events in the international energy field is the magazine *WISE*, published at Tweede Weteringplantsoen 9, Amsterdam, the Netherlands, by the World Information Service on Energy. Individual subs are \$6 for six issues.

MANNING MARABLE
In These Times Columnist

discusses

BLACK ELECTORAL
STRATEGY IN 1980

Monday, April 9 8 pm
Wellington Avenue Church Annex
615 West Wellington
Chicago
\$2 Donation



IRAN



A member of the Fedayeem guerrilla group speaking to a large Communist rally at Tehran University, Feb. 23.

Only the Ayatollah knows what's next

By Eric Leif Davin

IRAN IS STILL WAITING FOR THE other shoe to drop. While there was an overwhelming endorsement of an Islamic republic in the March 30 referendum, only the unknown circle of secret counselors to the Ayatollah Khomeini know what it is the voters endorsed.

Matine Daftari, leader of the recently created Democratic National Front, was especially critical of this aspect of the referendum. "Nothing has changed; everything is still in transition," he said in a telephone interview with *IN THESE TIMES* from Iran. "The only thing that has been proven is that we don't want the Shah—which everyone already knew."

Daftari explained that the Democratic National Front, emerging as the major left-liberal voice in Iran, was placed in a difficult position by the wording of the referendum. It unsuccessfully called for discussion of the structure of the proposed Islamic republic and the inclusion of a wider variety of choice on the ballot. "We didn't want to vote for an unknown quantity," Daftari said. "On the other hand, we couldn't vote against it, either. That would have been seen as voting for the old regime, which was the greatest evil in our history. Therefore, it was our decision not to vote at all. It was a moral choice."

The DNF was alone in this decision. The Tudeh (Communist) Party supported the referendum, while the armed militias, the populist Mojahedin and the Marxist People's Fedayin, called for a "conditional" yes vote.

However, Daftari emphasized that the decision of the DNF did not amount to a "boycott" of the referendum. "We did not campaign against it," he said. "We

did not tell people to boycott. We merely made a decision for ourselves."

Hossein Pakdaman agreed on the indecisive nature of the referendum. Pakdaman is a member of the five-person editorial council of *Ayandegan*, Tehran's only morning newspaper. "The referendum resolved nothing," he told us, "except perhaps the high levels of tension that had built up in anticipation. Still, people here are happy with the results. Everyone is happy—except maybe the unemployed and the left, which wanted a more liberated election."

As the political stasis continues, however, this revolutionary euphoria may quickly fade. "We inherited a decadent economy," Daftari said. "Everything was imported, everything was superficial. We were merely a showpiece." Now this showpiece economy is in a shambles and the growing number of unemployed are impatient to see the fruits of revolution.

Homa Nategh agreed. "Economically, we're in trouble. It's going to be like this for one, two years, maybe more," she said. Nategh is a highly respected history professor at the University of Tehran and one of the most well-known women in Iran. As one of the leaders of the recent women's demonstrations, she emerged as a spokesperson for many of the more radical intellectuals centered around the university.

Nategh's concern was that control over the economic life of her country might eventually return to Western corporations. "Already businessmen are returning," she said. "The Japanese, Germans, French are appearing once more. We don't know what the laws of the Islamic republic will be, but if the old statutes are retained, with all their advantages for Western businessmen, even the Americans will return. The people are frightened of economic domination by Western coun-

tries. They are wary of it now as never before."

A *Time* staffer echoed Nategh's fears. "The people are afraid of the return of imperialism," he said. "They believe the Western countries will take over the economy again. But you'll never find that statement in my story. *Time* cut out all references to imperialism. You have to read my story between the lines to discover the real fears of the Iranian people."

Adding to these fears is sporadic sniping and late-night ambushes attributed to renegade agents of the Shah's secret police, SAVAK. "There were half a million SAVAK agents in this country," said one

Iranian militant. "Only 60 or so were brought to justice. Where are all the others? The old ways can still return."

Given these popular fears, the economic decline, and the political logjam, the temptation to resolve the governmental deadlock by a show of force is attractive to both the Bazargan government and the religious leaders, as well as to the armed militias. With widespread possession of weapons by all factions, however, this is not likely to happen in the foreseeable future.

In the meantime, the country waits to see the constitution of the government it endorsed. ■

Beneath the unanimity

Iran became an Islamic republic on April 1 following a predictably near-unanimous "Yes" vote in the March 30 referendum organized by the Ayatollah Khomeini's followers. Iranians chose to cast the virtuous green ballot, symbol of Islam, instead of the wicked red one, symbol of vice and corruption and who knows—perhaps even communism. Abstention was discouraged by being made visible. Voters got stamps on their ID cards and ink marks on their fingers.

The Iranian left was divided over the referendum. The Tudeh communist party argued that democratic forces should support the referendum and "preserve the unity of revolutionary forces" in order to be able to take part in drafting the new constitution and help keep the revolution on a democratic path.

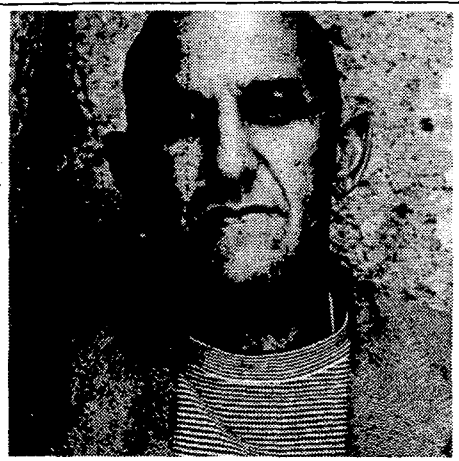
The Tudeh organ, *Mardom*, has criticized the moderate Bazargan government for getting the Ayatollah Khomeini to call a halt to "trials of counter-revolutionaries" and for labelling workers' demands as "excessive." *Mardom* stresses that the Iranian revolution is a genuine popular revolution, which is what counts, regardless of its "religious tendency."

But the two big leftist organizations that took part in the armed uprising against the old regime, the Marxist Fedayin and the populist Mudahidin, were

not happy with the referendum. Its single question, "Yes or No, are you for replacing the monarchy with an Islamic republic whose constitution will be approved?" was rejected as "clearly anti-democratic" by the new democratic national front headed by Matine Daftari, grandson of Mohammed Mossadegh. The front complained that many progressive Iranians could not express their will in a referendum that failed to "take into consideration democratic ideals" and asked for a second referendum to decide the nature of the new system after a full and thorough debate.

Europeans returning from Iran say it has become difficult to defend democracy or women's emancipation there because they are identified with moral corruption of the West, supposedly introduced into Iran by the Shah and his sister, Princess Ashraf. By its lifestyle and lack of criticism, the American community in Iran confirmed that impression. Carter's contribution was to add "human rights" to the glossary of modern political terms deprived of any meaning. Corruption of the language is also serious. For the time being, at least, it seems to have deprived secular democrats and feminists of any effective means of speaking up for those Iranians whose social ideal is not submission to Koranic law.

—Diana Johnstone



By Saul Landau
and Jack Willis

IN JULY 1977, AT THE AGE of 58, Paul Jacobs complained that he felt a crab biting him inside his chest. A month later the doctors diagnosed cancer. ¶We had worked with Paul in politics, on books, films and TV shows. We had enjoyed his gourmet cooking, his gross jokes and his joie de vivre. That all ended, as his days became filled with radiation treatments, interminable tests and probes. Disease absorbed his spirit. ¶Faced with a long and painful struggle to an improbable cure, Paul decided to continue to do the things he loved best. As the pain spread through his body, he had little time or inclination to concentrate on food, sex and the kind of fun he had practically given his name to as a style of life. He resigned himself to concentrating on his greatest love: investigative reporting. For, ironically, the story that had engendered his most intense passion had also become the source of his impending death.

Paul had started investigating the Atomic Energy Commission in 1957, on a tip from Linus Pauling. Pauling had information that the people of southern Utah and northern Arizona who lived 130 miles downwind from the AEC's atomic test site in Nevada were being exposed to radiation from the fallout caused by the tests being conducted there.

Paul's investigation resulted in an article for *The Reporter* magazine verifying Pauling's information and disclosing, for the first time, the government's attempt to cover-up the story and keep from the people the fact that they may have been exposed to harmful doses of radiation. In 1971 Paul wrote a follow-up article for *The Atlantic* and simultaneously produced a film for NET's "The Great American Dream Machine" which documented the existence of widespread cancer among those exposed to the fallout from atomic testing and exposed new government cover-ups.

Paul, too, became a victim of this cover-up. If the doctor's analyses are correct, during his very first investigative visit to the Nevada atomic test site, Paul inhaled a minute particle of radioactive dust. Lodged in his lung for 20 years, the ionized particle produced a lung cancer usually found only in heavy smokers or uranium miners. Paul was neither.

In September 1977 we discussed his future. "I want to work for as long as I can," he said. "A film to culminate the nuclear story. It's logical; it feels right. I have to get up some strength to do it."

Paul flew from San Francisco to Washington on Sept. 21, 1977. The occasion was the first anniversary memorial of the deaths of Orlando Letelier and Ronni

Moffitt, two colleagues at the Institute for Policy Studies who were murdered in Washington on orders from the Chilean secret police. Jacobs had written about the 1973 murders of two Americans, Charles Horman and Frank Terruggi, by the Chilean junta government for *Newsday*. Now, in 1977, he had come to Washington to speak in memory of these and other victims of Chilean fascism.

He stepped off the plane and we hardly recognized him. He had lost 25 pounds. His clothes hung. His ageless face had gained as many years as the pounds he had lost. He walked slowly. We took his bag.

He made the speech. His voice contained both tremors of pain and the determination to fight. Those in the audience who knew his pain applauded with tears running down their cheeks. Paul felt better. He was working. He liked applause. We would make the film.

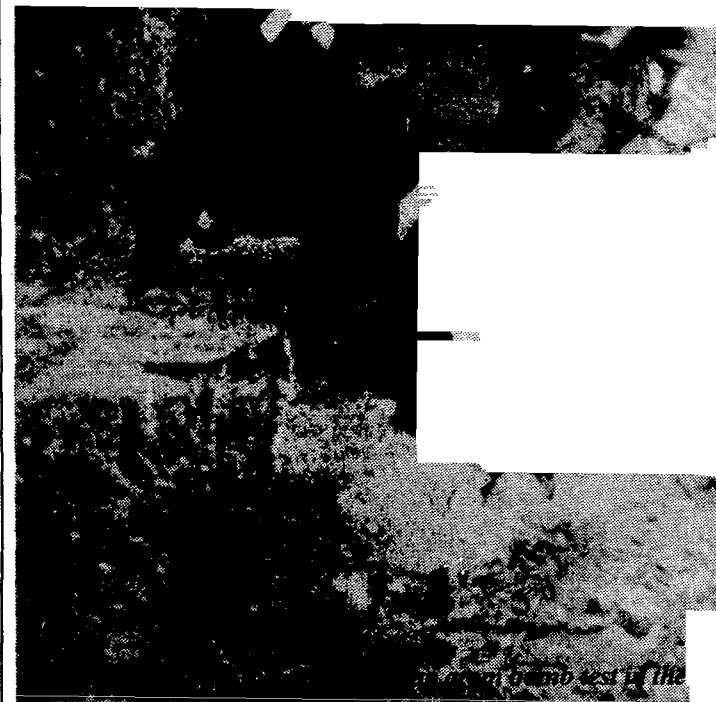
We set up interviews with the other victims of low-level radiation who had been exposed to fallout from atomic tests and with scientists whose work had been suppressed by the government or who had suppressed their own findings from fear of reprisal from the atomic establishment.

Meanwhile, we raised \$10,000 from friends and began to line up a crew. We began, also, to think of ways to use Paul and his illness in the film without overwhelming the main story—the deliberate government policy to disregard public safety and to suppress all information that would jeopardize continued nuclear testing and expansion of the nuclear industry.

As we were planning, Ruth Jacobs, Paul's wife of 40 years, died suddenly of a heart attack. Staggered by the blow to his already battered body and psyche, Paul postponed the filming. He went to a seminar in Texas designed to give cancer patients an understanding of their disease.

In mid-December we flew to Salt Lake City. Paul's tumors had spread. The doctors had given him all the morphine he needed, and instructed him how to use a needle and a syringe.

Because of his illness, Paul slept much



of the day, during that first day of shooting. Haskell Wexler, the cinematographer, lit the motel room with the kind of care one exercises with someone very precious. The soft light hid the pain, the pallidness, the lines of death in Paul's face. Paul began to recount his coverage of the nuclear story. He could endure no more than 30 minutes of talking at a time. We would stop. He would sleep, and begin again. Then in mid-camera roll, Paul began to talk about the physical pain he felt. He loosened his belt, dropped his trousers, and, without stopping his explanation, injected himself with morphine in the upper front of one thigh.

Paul tightened his belt, looked in the camera and said: "Sure, I feel bitter. I can pinpoint the time and place, when and where, I inhaled the radioactive particle." And he recalled the moment in 1957 when his self-purchased geiger counter jumped off scale in an area the AEC had declared "safe."

The second day of filming we drove to the Salt Lake City Veterans Hospital where Paul interviewed another cancer victim, Sgt. Paul Cooper. Leukemia was draining his life away. When we left Cooper's hospital room Paul chatted with the nurses, who felt certain that radiation had caused not only Cooper's illness, but a veritable epidemic of cancers in southern Utah. "There's no reason for him to be here," Paul said of Cooper. "He trusted people he had no basis for trusting." On the elevator he said, "That poor guy. I feel sorry for him, he

looks awful." The doctors, scientists in Utah. In between. While he slept, we cancer victims and discovered that all whom Paul interviewed and film in 1971 covered dozens more had been exposed now had cancer of gruesome death—by Paul's incredible as well as that of filmed.

Paul's pain grew morphine every two hours to stay awake. push him, and, he was in such pain—he him dress, made with him, told jokes and life stories down as Haskell film.

When we finished home to San Francisco a hotel, one of them Paul said, "I don't the house." Ruth's. ly. In the hotel he ing, nor did he even shower. With his cushion which he no (tumors had grown he made his way do room. It was filled and upper crusties.

He drank and

new death.

ern Utah in 1957

fallout from atomic
cancer probably caused
hailed twenty years ago.



Paul interviewed
and the Governor of
interviews, he slept.
interviews with
their survivors. We
of the cancer victims
interviewed for his article
are now dead. We dis-
cuss people, all of whom
to the fallout, that
leukemia. It was a
made bearable only
courage and dignity
the other people we

worse. He shot mor-
rors, and found it diffi-
But he asked us to
tactantly—because he
be pushed. We helped
him eat, played cards
es, recounted adven-
Now he had to lay
ned him.

filming, we returned
co. We checked into
itziest. "Who cares?"
want to go home to
death made him loneli-
didn't feel like shar-
n have the energy to
attered, dirty sitting
carried everywhere
on his pelvic bones),
wnstairs to the dining
with proper dowagers

ate and drank some

more. He belched and told jokes. On his
way upstairs, he looked down on the hor-
rificed diners, gave a last, loud belch as he
painfully climbed the flight of stairs and
said, "Do you think they'll remember
me?"

Paul died Jan. 3, 1978, before we had
time to film other sequences. We decided
to finish his story and weave what we
had filmed of him into the texture of the
entire film.

We got a grant of \$20,000 from the In-
dependent Documentary Fund at WNET/
13 and began editing the film.

We had to stare into Paul's face, cut his
words and juxtapose his images. As we
edited, we continued filming interviews
with government bureaucrats and scien-
tists whom Paul had accused of "making
a bargain with the Devil." The posses-
sion of nuclear power, he had said, was
something they cherished at all costs. But
it was society, not they, that was paying
the dues.

We updated Paul's story. We inter-
viewed worker-victims, and workers at
nuclear installations who might become
victims. And then came the problem:
weaving together a journalist's investiga-
tion, his own illness and death with the
stories of other cancer victims and gov-
ernment officials and propaganda films
—in short, how to make a film about the
effects of low-level radiation and about
a man we had loved.

We struggled, fought, argued and some-
times wept unpredictably when Paul's
image on the editing machine would pro-

voke memories, sentiments, and hurt, at
his loss.

The film grew from the half hour we
had originally planned to a full hour.
We went back to friends who generously
contributed more money and finally, one
year after we had begun, we showed the
film to the Public Broadcasting Service
and the Corporation for Public Broad-
casting, who provided us with the money
to complete it.

Gregory Landau, who had known Paul
since he was seven, composed a song for
Paul, a hard-driving disco beat with a sad
theme, a song that did not allow for senti-
mentality. Indeed, it felt inappropriate to
mourn for Paul. What his life demanded
from those who took him seriously was
action. If his death was to have meaning,
it could only be drawn from the essence of
his life. That's what we tried to do; to
make a story with a man as he was dying,
and finish it after he died, so that both his
life as a reporter and his death as a report-
er would have meaning.

With the help of Zack Krieger and
Penny Bernstein, who worked countless

days and weeks without pay, and thanks
to literally dozens of other volunteers
and filmworkers working for almost no-
thing, we finished the story about Paul
Jacobs and the "Nuclear Gang."

It's a film in his genre of journalism
about how nuclear radiation, for war or
peace, causes cancer to those who get
near it, or on whom it happens to fall.
It's a film about how the U.S. govern-
ment agencies in charge of atomic power,
whether for defense or energy, have lied,
deceived and covered up harmful effects
of their prized power. It's a film about
the victims of that cover-up, those who
died, those who still suffer, and those
who, like Paul Jacobs, tried to uncover
the truth.

Finally, the film is about a man we
loved and admired, and whose memory
we tried to preserve, as a model, as a true
hero, for future generations of American
journalists.

Paul Jacobs and the Nuclear Gang is avail-
able from New Time Films, Inc. 1501
Broadway, #1904, NYC 10036. (212) 921-
7020.

Nuclear industry tries to stop film



THE NUCLEAR INDUSTRY DOESN'T
want you to see this film. From the
Nevada proving grounds to Sea-
brook, from Rocky Flats to West Valley,
Paul Jacobs and the Nuclear Gang makes
a clear connection between the commercial and military hazards of nu-
clear technology. It features well known anti-nuclear scientists like
Thomas Mancuso and Helen Caldicott, author of the recently pub-
lished *Nuclear Madness*...who share Jac-
obs' conclusion:

"They kept insisting there was no dan-
ger from low-level radiation. It turns out
there is serious danger from low-level
radiation. They kept predicting that the
problem of nuclear waste would be
solved. It hasn't been solved at all and
there doesn't seem to be a solution in
sight."

Elliot Gantzhorn of the Atomic In-
dustrial Forum—the same organization
that handled the pro-nuclear publicity
sent to reviewers of *China Syndrome*—
says the film is unbalanced because it
doesn't present scientists who believe
low-level radiation is not a health haz-
ard. "As far as its content is concerned,"
says Gantzhorn, "it's highly emotional,
which is natural since its about people
who are dying." Several of the GIs and
residents of St. George who were inter-
viewed for the documentary died of can-
cer before the film was finished.

The film was aired over PBS on Sun-
day, Feb. 25, at 8:00 p.m. Eastern Time.
It is the first in a series of documentaries
called "Non-Fiction Television." The
series is being offered through WNET
in New York and is funded by the Ford
Foundation and the National Endow-
ment for the Humanities.

According to NET's David Loxton,

"This is exactly the sort of film I'd like
to think we'll do a lot more of. I believe
we should be doing good, strong, issue
documentaries."

Several public television stations
around the country declined to broad-
cast the film on the 25th. Program man-
ager Bill Scott, WETV in Atlanta, said,
"From what I've read about it, this
film sounds horribly biased." Scott
called the documentary "obviously
anti-nuclear" and said WETV received
a request for air time to respond to the
film from Georgia Power, a local
utility.

The film did not air in the state of
Oklahoma, where the Karen Silkwood
case is currently being tried. The Okla-
homa Educational Television Author-
ity says the film may be on in the future.
KRMA in Denver said the film appeared
to be "one-sided." A KRMA spokes-
person said someone at Rocky Flats
called to suggest it not be shown.
WTTW in Chicago has not yet made a
decision to air the film. Off the record,
a WTTW staff member said individuals
from the Argonne National Laboratory
had been in touch with the station. KN-
ME in Albuquerque followed the film
with a rebuttal from the nuclear industry
of the Los Alamos center.

—John Kalish

EDITORIAL

Melting down the America Syndrome

The Three Mile Island nuclear power plant ventilated public opinion with vital things the experts did *not* know that may prove more crucial in deciding the future of nuclear energy than the things they do know. The experts did not know:

- how serious the plant's malfunction was at the outset and just what to do about it;
- how to prevent radioactive emissions;
- that an explosive gas bubble of hydrogen and radioactive elements would form at the head of the reactor core and prevent coolant water from reaching it;
- how to dismantle a contaminated reactor;
- how to decontaminate the building flooded with radioactive water and how long it will take;
- how much damage was done to the reactor and how close to a meltdown the core came;
- how much damage the radioactive emissions will cause in the long run.

The experts do know, as University of Illinois School of Public Health associate dean Arthur Wolff says, that "no one can predict what might happen in such a highly complex technology" where there is so "little operating experience, as...in the nuclear field" and that this "serious nuclear accident...is unlikely to be the last." *New York Times* science writer Malcolm W. Browne tells us that "nothing in a nuclear reactor can be regarded as routine." The *Wall Street Journal* (April 5) concedes nuclear power "is of course an intrinsically dangerous technology."

Putting together what we do and don't know, it is clear that nuclear energy is far from being a source of power sufficiently subject to human control to warrant its general use. Indeed, given the large areas of ignorance attaching to crucial aspects of the nuclear process, it is a misnomer to call it a nuclear *technology*—if, as the dictionary tells us, technology is "the science of the application of knowledge to practical purposes: applied science."

The state of knowledge about nuclear energy is still too limited to permit of scientific application. Its application is scientific only in the sense of its still being in the experimental-guinea pig stage of inquiry. The guinea pigs are the industry workers, the general population, and the surrounding environment.

This is the case at every stage of the nuclear industry, not the least at the waste disposal process at the end. There, a chimney-junkyard technique has been applied to an altogether new kind of effusion and waste. What for other industry is the end of the matter (albeit with some polluting effects), for the nuclear industry is only the beginning of hundreds of years of radioactive decay with high risk of environmental contamination and genetic damage.

The nuclear industry, in short, is an experiment in search of, but not yet a usable, technology.

It is unique in being the only industry permitted to engage in general production and commercial use while still in the guinea pig stage. It stands as a monument to the perversion of the American pride in a tradition of applied science.

So grotesque a perversion can be explained by the impulse to desperate responses to growing scarcities of energy sources, and by the millions of dollars of profits beckoning. But it is not a rational or prudent approach to energy needs.

The Three Mile Island incident made it clear that in a nuclear power plant, even a "minor" malfunction is a serious "accident," capable of disrupting the economic life—and the energy supply—of an entire region and hundreds of thousands of people.



If the plant's breakdown goes no further than it has at this writing, it may be a blessing in disguise.

It showed how ill-suited private enterprise is to controlling nuclear energy. The Metropolitan Edison Company acted no worse than other private business: It put its stockholders' interests above the public safety. Though privately owned, the company's losses will ultimately be borne not by the investors, but by the public through rising rates and tax revenues funding government insurance and rehabilitation programs.

The accident showed how inadequate and untrustworthy government regulation of the nuclear industry has been and may prevent the Carter administration's

ill-conceived plan to relax licensing procedures.

It has exposed industry and government mendacity. It has revealed the auror of secrecy and expertise with which nuclear energy and weaponry have been surrounded as less a technique for protecting national security than for protecting special interests from public knowledge.

It has put the question of nuclear energy back into the political arena where it belongs in a democracy.

Finally, the accident may provide the occasion for a general reevaluation of American energy policy.

The country needs to consider whether it is wise to leave its energy supply in the hands of vast private corporations, which

tax the entire economy for use of a scarce commodity at monopoly prices, and whose power extends to controlling the regulatory agencies that are supposed to control them.

Control of energy should be shifted to decentralized public bodies subject to the checks and balances of democratic controls, and mandated to develop the safest, cheapest, and most ecologically efficient energy sources. A structure similar to the Federal Reserve or Federal Farm Land bank system, with lesser central authority, might be adapted to the purpose.

We need to consider changing direction from an automobile, energy-wasteful economy to a public transport, energy-conserving economy, from fossil and nuclear fuels to solar and other renewable energy sources.

The place to begin is to replace James R. Schlesinger with someone oriented to solar energy as head of the Department of Energy, to overhaul the Nuclear Regulatory Commission with commissioners having no material or ideological ties to the nuclear industry, and to pressure Congress to reject Carter's energy program for a solar-oriented one of its own.

Such a program would immediately close down grossly unsafe nuclear plants, suspend construction of those still unfinished, stringently regulate while moving toward phasing out the others already in operation, as newly developed, safe energy sources come on stream. This kind of energy program would also require making new commitments to "melting down" the "America Syndrome" of pursuing private short-term gain at the expense of public needs and our obligation to posterity.

Ernie Mazey, that passionate, eager dynamo, is dead. It seems an age ago that I first heard him speak. It was in 1942 at Socialist Workers Party convention. Ernie was leading a left opposition in the party and was complaining that the party's trade unionists weren't showing sufficient daring and militancy in opposing Roosevelt's fraudulent equality of sacrifice policy under which workers were to give up the right to strike and the prospect of wage increases while the bosses were to renounce war profits. He

Ernie Mazey's final combat was his work in Ed Sadlowski's campaign to revive and democratize the Steelworkers union. He always maintained his commitment to socialism and democracy. Always he found practical ways of serving the cause.

Two years before Mazey was born two things happened to shape his life. In the spring of 1917, antiquated, battered, defeated Russia entered its revolutionary years and her disintegrating armies began their chaotic withdrawal from the war. Six months later the revolution took Russia totally out of the war. Simultaneously the U.S. was entering the war. As anti-war voices grew louder in Russia they were being drowned out here.

Among the victims of that totalitarian chauvinism was the American Union Against Militarism, which hired Roger Baldwin to organize a Civil Liberties Bureau in defense of its right to speak out against the war. That is how the American Civil Liberties Union got its start. Anyone who would understand Ernie's life should keep in mind these two events of 1917, the revolution in Russia and the organization of the civil liberties movement against political suppression in the U.S. Socialism and democracy were the intertwined strands of Ernie's life.

Having been Ernie's comrade for 23

years in two socialist organizations—for 15 years in the Socialist Workers Party and for seven in the Socialist Union—I think I know what socialism and democracy meant to Ernie. It meant a society of material abundance and cultural diversity capable of meeting the physical, intellectual and esthetic needs of people with high expectations, a society democratically planned and managed by the working people themselves, a society freed from the tyrannies of class, caste, national and sexual oppression.

Ernest Mazey

Labor Leader



1919-1979

Ernie's conception of socialism and revolutionary politics was influenced by *The Revolution Betrayed*, Trotsky's classic study of the growth under Stalin of inequality and bureaucratic privilege in the backward Soviet economy.

While always critical of them, Ernie remained a partisan of the great revolutions of our century. He thought that the intent and promise of these revolutions is socialist, but did not think that any post-capitalist society has realized socialism. He thought it damages the cause of socialism in the countries of advanced capitalism when poor and oppressive societies are held up to the people here as models of socialism achieved.

Democracy for Ernie meant far more than majority rule. It included the right of a minority, through speech and organization, to try to become a majority. Ernie gave a lot of energy to defending minority rights. His defense of those rights was as absolute as it could be, given his unconditional identification with the interests of the working class. Ernie was a builder of the UAW, a union patriot. When the union was fighting for its right to exist, its sitdowners and picketers in the great class battles of the 1930s were not excessively protective of the speech and association rights of strikebreakers. That went for Ernie too.

Ernie knew that any law or government policy devised ostensibly to curb fascists could and would be employed to suppress the left. As a civil libertarian he opposed all governmental abridgment of the First Amendment. As a working class militant he was for any independent, self-mobilization of workers to defend their organizations against fascist and gangster threats. He saw no contradiction.

Last week when I was in Cuba there was a congress of university students there. During one session the secretary called the role of students who had struggled and perished under Batista in the '50s. When each name was called, the students in the hall responded with a shout of "Present!" The Cuban students were saying that every person who lives and fights for worthy ends lives on in the consciousness of those who continue the fight. Such a person was and is comrade Ernie. He helped us toward the goal, toward socialism and liberty.

—David Herreshoff

David Herreshoff is a member of the English department at Wayne State University (Detroit, Mich.) and author of *The Origins of American Marxism*.

LETTERS

SOCIAL ECOLOGY

MICHAEL LERNER'S STRATEGY OF putting four initiatives on state ballots is terrific. Instead of left rhetoric, he has come up with a program that people can work on locally, and would also have national significance. The Social Ecology idea is the first time anyone has proposed a way to talk about social control over production that might actually get mass support. Lerner's vision and optimism are a refreshing change from the normal passivity-mixed-with-depair that goes under the label of "left analysis."

I hope you will ask groups like NAM, Tom Hayden's OED, DBOC, and especially your progressive union leaders like Ward and Brown to respond to Lerner's programmatic ideas, and why they would either support it or not. I don't see much point in your having a series of articles on strategic focus for 1980 unless you get the main forces to dialog with each other. Instead of spending time debating whether the progressives are going to support Kennedy or not (which I doubt if he cares), I'd rather see them talk about Lerner's proposals, which could make us be the ones to define the political agenda rather than wait to react to liberal Democrats.

—Alma Morley
Hayward, Cal.

A LEADER OF SOUTHERN TENANTS LOOKS AT ROOTS, PART II

SOME OF JUDITH STEIN'S CRITICISM of *ARC's Roots, Part I* (ITT, Mar. 7) may be justified, but I think the program was good. It eloquently described the Haley family taking two steps forward and one back. While the events portrayed probably occurred, they did not all happen in Henning, Tenn. For instance, a lynching was held on the courthouse lawn at Dyersburg, Tenn., on Dec. 2, 1917. There, Scott McGinnis, a deliveryman for a local grocer, was accused of attempted rape and was burned at the stake. I was then 11 years old and saw it. I was able to confirm my recollections of this horrible event in the records kept at Tuskegee Institute. No local newspapers reported it, nor did the Memphis papers published 75 miles away.

I was born near Halls, Tenn., ten miles from Henning, where the Haleys lived. While the Haleys were overcoming obstacles and rising in the economic scale, my white Anglo-Saxon family was going down the ladder. My grandfather, a Baptist minister, owned his farm. My father was a tenant farmer, and I became a wage laborer and sometimes sharecropper.

It is true that the Alabama Sharecroppers Union was organized by Communists from the steel mills of Birmingham. Some of us who helped form the Southern Tenant Farmers Union were Socialists. The Alabama Union was formed in early 1931, and was almost annihilated in shoot-outs at Camp Hill and Reel town. The Alabama Sharecroppers Union was in existence in 1933, when one-third of the cotton crop was plowed up, and was re-organized in South Alabama in 1934 and 1935 by Al Murphy, a black, and Clyde L. Johnson, a white who succeeded Murphy as Secretary.

But the 18 men, seven black and 11 white, who met in eastern Arkansas in July to form the rural South's first interracial organization, led the struggle for AAA benefit payments and against evictions of families from the plantations. Mass meetings, marches through the plantations, and picket lines around the Department of Agriculture in Washington, led President Roosevelt to appoint a committee on farm tenancy, and bring the nation's first end only rural poverty

program into being. The Farm Security Administration made loans of all kinds to more than 900,000 farm families. FSA was the first New Deal agency to become a casualty of World War II.

While teaching at A&M College near Huntsville, S.A. Haley may have tried to see that black sharecroppers got their share of government benefit payments. I met S.A. Haley in the mid-1940s when he was teaching at the Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes at Pine Bluff, Ark. Haley was interested in the Southern Tenant Farmers Union and attended an annual convention in Little Rock in 1944. Our vice president, F.R. Betton, of Cotton Plant, Ark., knew Haley better than I did. Betton may well have provided the model for the story of a teacher who helped sharecroppers collect their government benefit checks. Betton, a country school teacher and justice of the peace in Dark Corners Township for 25 years, was black. He was involved in the collection of sharecropper benefit checks. From the day he joined the Union in 1935, Betton was given a title of respect. He was called "Professor" in lieu of being called "mister" by white folks.

I hope that Judith Stein will read my book, *Mean Things Happening in This Land*. It is being published by Allanheld, Osmun and Co. on May 1. It is really the autobiography of the movement. In the book, Mrs. Deacy Real tells how she collected her family's government benefit check that had been withheld by their plantation owner.

—H.L. Mitchell
Co-Founder, Southern Tenant Farmers Union
Montgomery, Ala.

CONSPIRACIES AND HEALTH CARE

PATRICK LACEFIELD, REFERRING TO municipal hospitals in New York (ITT, Feb. 28) suggests conspiracy between Mayor Ed Koch and private hospitals to drive the municipals out of business. There is some truth to the assertion, but the financing of medical care in this country and the financing of New York City are too complex to be reduced to conspiracies and sympathy strikes by interns and residents.

The underfunding of New York municipal hospitals is notorious. The public TV program on King's County is enough to make one sick. Continuing to maintain a string of poor hospitals assures low-income people poor care. Should these institutions be closed? Private hospitals simply cannot turn away patients if they cannot pay; the hospitals are under too much legal pressure, and decent city planning can arrange for care. (Philadelphia's recent closing of its municipal hospital shows that even under a Rizzo administration chaos need not result.) This is an era of empty hospital beds, and hospitals need those patients.

I don't want to suggest giving up, but health activists must do more in response to threats of closing than look for conspiracies and demonstrate. "All or nothing" (all municipal hospitals must remain open) often results in nothing, not all.

A health agenda must be drawn up. For example, out-patient clinics are more useful to the general population than are a run of high-cost, high-technology institutions. Why not counter the city's bid with a plan for decent primary care? Such centers might well be financed by the city. Politically active community groups have a chance of forcing such concessions. In Philadelphia we already have a form of city-funded socialized medicine in some neighborhoods (although the city does its best to prevent people from finding out about the services).

Health-care activists need to formulate something more than defensive

strategies. Primary care and preventive medicine are two areas where hospitals are inadequate. New Yorkers (and other urbanites) now have a chance to lay the foundation for a new kind of health care.

—Larry Schafer
Philadelphia

PSEUDO-LIBERAL CANT

YOUR EDITORIAL (ITT, MAR. 21) ON the Egyptian-Israeli treaty left me aghast. It is totally devoid of any concrete economic, social or political analysis of the treaty, and indulges in misrepresentation of facts and gratuitous assumptions.

It is simply not true that "Israel has always held it [peace with Egypt] to be a major precondition for adjustment for its relations with its Palestinian Arab neighbors." Present and past Israeli governments have, on the contrary, consistently rejected the very idea of any "adjustment" with the Palestinians other than one predicated on superior Israeli military force. Recognition of Palestinian statehood has been and is today specifically ruled out, and colonization plans on the West Bank have been extended on the very eve of the "peace" ceremonies by a declaration of the Israeli government.

In a perfect *non sequitur*, your editorial implies that the PLO and enlightened Israelis now have cause for renewed cooperation, without analyzing in the least

the stiffening stance of the PLO, brought about by the treaty, and the situation of the dwindling numbers of Israeli socialists in a fundamentally colonial and repressive class society that thrives on racial segregation and the exploitation of cheap Arab and Oriental Jewish labor.

Your editorial ends with empty exhortations to the U.S., which should "befriend the democratic forces" in the Middle East (as if it ever has or could, given the interests that dictate U.S. foreign policy), and to the Soviet Union, which is called upon to "refuse to encourage national hatreds against Israel" (as if these hatreds were not being amplified and fanned by the policies of the present Israeli government).

This kind of drivel could have been thrown together by the staff of CBS news. I rely upon you for intelligent commentary from a left perspective, and deserve better than yet another flight of pseudo-liberal cant.

—Michael Roublev
Oakland, Cal.

CORRECTION

On last week's back page article, "Rite of Spring," photographs were taken by Marc Gunther and Warren Goldstein.

Editor's Note: Please keep letters under 250 words. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, please type and double space letters.

The financial facts of ITT

IN THESE TIMES is not an ordinary commercial publication. We did not start publication with the investment capital normally required for promotion, personnel, equipment and operations. As a result, our circulation remains limited and our operational losses have continued longer than they should. Our projected loss in 1979 is \$180,000.

Several weeks ago we sent a mailing to all subscribers asking for contributions to help meet this year's deficit. Thus far \$44,000 has come in from all sources and an additional \$37,000 has been pledged.

Our decision to start publishing IN THESE TIMES in November 1976, despite limited funds, has proven to be correct. It would have been impossible to convey to our present readers the kind of paper we had in mind. And we have been winning more and more supporters as well as readers with each year of publication. We think you will agree that the quality, style, content, design, and independent democratic socialist policy of IN THESE TIMES provides all the basic ingredients for reaching a mass audience in our country.

The potential is there. The opportunity is great. But the problem of making it all happen is decisive.

Tens of thousands of people would be readers of the paper if they knew of our existence. But promotions have been small and as a result circulation remained virtually static in 1978. With borrowed funds we have been able to send out 670,000 promotional letters thus far this year. Over 4,000 new subscriptions have come in thus far and another 2,000 are expected. We plan additional promotional mailings if funds are available.

Promotional mailings bring in subscriptions, but they also add to our deficit in their first year. It is only when (and if) the subscription is renewed that operational income increases.

We started 1979 with 10,100 subscribers and 2,000 bookstore purchasers. We expect to have 18,000 subscribers and 3,000 other sales by the end of the year. A contribution to IN THESE TIMES is not just for a holding operation. It is for a growing socialist voice and presence.

Over 1,000 people have contributed to IN THESE TIMES in the past two years. Many more are needed, and larger sums are needed from supporters. Since IN THESE TIMES is part of the Institute for Policy Studies, contributions can be tax deductible. It will cost you less than the actual amount contributed.

If you plan to contribute a small sum, please try to make it larger. If you've contributed a lump sum, please become a sustainer. Send in a pledge for a monthly contribution and you'll be billed monthly or quarterly, as you desire.

Whether \$5,000, \$500, \$100, \$50, \$25, or \$10—please send your contribution or pledge today. Fill out the blank below.

Sincerely,

William Sennett — Samer Wint

Sustaining Fund

I enclose \$_____ toward the ITT fund campaign.

I also pledge \$_____ a
☐ month ☐ quarter.

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

Send to:
IN THESE TIMES
1509 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60622

Contribution

I enclose \$_____ as a contribution to IN THESE TIMES. I also pledge \$_____ to be sent by _____ (date)

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

Send to:
IN THESE TIMES
1509 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60622

Checks made out to the Institute for Policy Studies are tax deductible.

Workplace conflict reshapes work and class

By Michael Reich

CONTESTED TERRAIN: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century

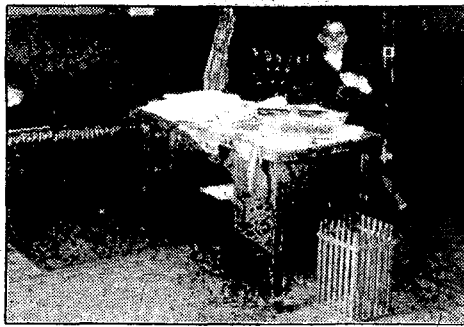
By Richard Edwards
Basic Books, New York, \$12.95

TO NOTE THE GROWING DIVERSITY of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries has become something of a commonplace, but as yet

there is no commonly accepted explanation of the sources of this diversity. With the exception of limited talk of "labor aristocracies," traditional Marxist thought offers little on this vital subject. Orthodox Marxism has tended to follow the guidelines laid down long ago by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto: the working class, based primarily in industrial production, was becoming more homogenous and more unified, particularly as periodic economic crises swelled and impoverished the proletariat.

In *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, Harry Braverman pointed out many of the inadequacies of the traditional view. Capitalist oppression, Braverman emphasized, consisted not only in the appropriation of the products of human labor, but also in the organization of work. Pointing to Frederick W. Taylor's attempts at "scientific" management of labor, Braverman argued that tasks have been subdivided in all occupations, clerical and service as well as industrial, and that work in capitalist firms consequently was becoming deskilled. Braverman thus directed needed attention to the analysis of the labor process.

Nevertheless, Braverman's work left untouched a central orthodox tenet: that homogenization of the working class accompanies its proletarianization. This conclusion proved unrealistic, together



Henry Ford watching the store.

with the implicit assumption that the organization of work could be analyzed solely according to the dictates of capital accumulation, separated from the responses and struggles of the workers.

In his path-breaking work, Richard Edwards analyzes the transformation of the capitalist workplace in the 20th century in terms that challenge and transcend Braverman's analysis.

Edwards insists on seeing the workplace as a contested terrain, in which the efforts of capitalists to transform purchased labor-power into performed work can be understood only in the context of worker-capitalist conflict. To Edwards, Taylorism comprises only the tip, and a misleading one at that, of the iceberg of contemporary capitalist structures organized to elicit work. Taylorism showed employers the potential benefits of systematic management of labor tasks, but in the end it failed because it provoked widespread worker resistance.

Edwards investigates the evolution of the labor process from the small 19th-century entrepreneurial firms of competitive capitalism where capitalists supervised workers personally, to the modern corporation of monopoly capitalism. He analyzes at each stage the way work tasks

are specified, workers' performance evaluated, and workers' compliance obtained through a discipline and reward apparatus. As firms expanded, a hierarchy of supervisors with complete discretion over their subordinate workers developed. This "simple control" system still predominates in the competitive small-business periphery of the economy.

In an original analysis of the widespread upsurge of labor struggles from 1894 to 1919, Edwards emphasizes the revolt of workers against arbitrary and tyrannical forms of labor supervision. Corporations responded to this challenge with new forms of control mechanisms, first affecting the physical structure of the labor process ("technical control"), as in the classic assembly-line model, and later affecting the social structure of work ("bureaucratic control").

Firms that institute technical control to organize industrial production found a unified workforce striking back by the late 1930s, the era of the CIO's organizing drives. Industrial union struggles led to the next stage of the labor process, bureaucratic control. For Edwards, the shift from technical to bureaucratic control methods constitutes the most important change in the labor process in the 20th century.

Bureaucratic control involves rules built into job categories and descriptions, wage scales, and systematized procedures for evaluating, promoting and disciplining workers. Where technical methods of controlling workers produced greater homogeneity and unity among workers, bureaucratic methods institutionalized stratification and disunity among them. They encouraged workers to compete with one another, and to identify with the corporation in order to gain promotions. But bureaucratic control methods also contain their own contradictions, as they create greater aspirations for enlarged democracy at the workplace itself.

Edwards' categories of simple, technical and bureaucratic control refer to the

historical stages of capitalist development and class struggle. They also refer to the three main methods of organizing work today. The evolution of the labor process has expanded the working class while creating three major and distinct fractions within it, each operating within one of the control systems. Drawing on recent research on the segmentation of labor markets, Edwards portrays the laboring poor as subject to simple control, the "traditional working class" (including clerical workers) as subject to technical control, and the middle layers (supervisors, technicians, craftworkers and professionals) as subject to bureaucratic control.

Despite this fracturing of the working class at the point of production, conflict with capitalists has continued, as each fraction has pursued its interests through political pressure on the state. In response, capitalists have attempted to restructure government to restrict its democratic content. Edwards sees the struggle to preserve political democracy as a potent force that, together with emerging aspirations for workplace democracy, can unify the fractions of the working class and usher in an era of renewed struggle for socialism.

The final sections of the book speculate on future trends and are the least satisfying. Edwards cannot demonstrate convincingly why the capitalist class might not be able to set the various fractions of the working class against each other in the political arena. Yet these problems do not detract from Edwards' substantial achievement in reconceptualizing the history and structure of the working class in advanced capitalism.

This brief review cannot indicate the richness of insight found throughout the book. It will appeal to a wide audience. Edwards writes clearly and vividly, provides detailed, lively examples for his arguments and avoids the specialized jargon that plagues so many academic works.

Michael Reich is a professor of economics at the University of California, Berkeley.

Ambiguous legacy of the Bolshevik Revolution

By Paul Wolman

THE BOLSHEVIKS COME TO POWER:

The Revolution of 1917 in Petrograd
By Alexander Rabinowitch
Norton, New York, 1976; paperback ed. 1978, \$5.95

THE PAPERBACK PUBLICATION of Alexander Rabinowitch's *The Bolsheviks Come to Power* makes more accessible a work deserving a wide audience among socialists.

Rabinowitch examines Bolshevik party activities in Petrograd from Lenin's return in April 1917 after the overthrow of the

Tsar, through the October revolution. These were the tempestuous months of war and political ferment during which the Soviet communists transformed themselves from a minor sect of journalists, exiles, and furtive organizers into the ruling political force in Russia.

From the time of John Reed's dramatic contemporary accounts, the world's first successful socialist revolution has held a particular, if somewhat obscure, attraction for Americans. Yet the Bolshevik phenomenon has also seemed frighteningly alien to our own experience and especially to our sense of democratic political process. While this gulf is in some respects the natural and inevitable product of our differing times and cultures, in part it has been the legacy of more than 60 years of polemicizing.

Some critics have persisted in viewing the Bolsheviks' success as a combination of luck and low cunning, the work of a



Red Army soldiers, 1917.

small coterie of fanatics who took advantage of a temporary political "vacuum" to gull an ignorant and excited urban mob into support of their coup d'etat. "Leninists" have also emphasized authoritarian themes, defending the Bolsheviks' rise as the miraculous fruit of a fixed, "correct" doctrine interpreted and transmitted by an infallible elite to an obedient, even adoring party and people.

While his is not the first book to challenge conventional notions, Rabinowitch's study, part of a growing "revisionist" literature, constitutes the most thorough and provocative study of the revolution yet to issue from the American academic community.

Rabinowitch approaches the Bolsheviks of 1917 neither as Mephistophelian conspirators nor as socialist demi-gods, but as one of several political parties responding to a social crisis of vast magnitude. He brings to the study of the revolution

a social historian's interest in hitherto neglected activities of party cadre and supporters in the factories and working class suburbs, discovering and illuminating a surprising degree of organizational flexibility, openness, and initiative at the local level. Yet he does not slight study of the political development of the party's central institutions.

His research reveals the influence exerted by local party branches, and suggests that the rapid maturation of the Bolshevik leadership was not the result of lock-step obedience to any leader or fixed doctrine, but the product of an active internal debate over policy.

Rabinowitch combines a cinematic eye for descriptive detail and drama with a scholar's passion for precision. He evokes the texture and substance of the revolutionary months: machine-gun regiments careening through the cobbled streets during the "July Days"; the Byzantine intrigues of the Kornilov affair; Lenin quizzing the conductress of a streetcar on the "mood of the people." Finally, his account of the October rising skillfully jump-cuts from the feverish party meetings, to the barricades, to the government palaces, as the revolt swept the old order into the "dustbin of history."

An account of the revolution invariably returns to the central figure of the revolution, Lenin. It is a great strength of Rabinowitch's treatment that he is able to establish that Lenin was at once the driving force behind the Bolsheviks' recognition of the need for a definitive break with the dangerously unstable Provisional Government, and yet, no party dictator.

In Rabinowitch's narrative, Lenin emerges as a politician who had to win adherents to his cause in open party de-

bate, and to watch sometimes in frustration as his proposals were voted down by more cautious or tactically conscious comrades. But Rabinowitch remains skeptical of Lenin's own democratic credentials. This is most apparent in his treatment of Lenin's differences with the parliamentary-minded moderate socialists and Right Bolsheviks. Where they are rehabilitated as pluralistic "good communists," Lenin, it is hinted, nurtured the ambition to place the Bolsheviks into a dictatorial control of the state.

Rabinowitch, for all his attraction to the events of 1917, and all his desire to do them justice, still cannot quite avoid seeing revolution and democracy as exclusive categories. The tendency to see revolution itself as somehow inevitably a product of perversity may reflect the measure to which we Americans have distanced ourselves from our own revolutionary democratic heritage.

Yet, in the end, Rabinowitch does view the revolution as a high point of liberty in Russia; and, as he acknowledges, it was probably not the events of the revolution itself which proved most damaging to the prospects of socialist democracy in Russia. This is a theme he may explore further in a proposed volume continuing his account of events in Petrograd into the '20s.

Rabinowitch's book offers eloquent testimony to the creative and participatory capacities of the Russian people, and to the commitment of leaders who risked their personal and political futures in response to the demands of their times. This was the face of neither demagoguery nor divinity, but of a politics which a Washington or a Lincoln might recognize.

Paul Wolman is a graduate student in history at Northern Illinois University.

PERSPECTIVES

Government-business stats catch labor in productivity-crap-trap

By Thomas Brom

WAREHOUSEMAN RON SHEPHERD USED TO DRIVE A FORK-lift at J.C. Penney's big distribution center at Hayward, Cal. Now he rides on one, a huge computer-guided machine that receives orders in a small electronic terminal on the dashboard. The terminal sends back such routine responses as "out of stock," "truck full," or "job done," maintains a complete inventory of the warehouse, and makes out delivery tickets for outgoing merchandize. Logisticon, the company

that installed the system, is now working on improvements that will eventually allow the forklift to perform even more tasks—without Ron Shepherd being there at all. His job will be eliminated, ironically sacrificed to improve the overall productivity of the American worker.

Productivity—once an obscure term seen only in business journals—is now at the center of a national controversy over the troubled U.S. economy.

The Carter administration, reacting to a report that productivity in the U.S. increased by only 0.4 percent in 1978, seized on declining productivity growth rates as a major issue in its campaign to fight inflation.

But in the process, it has stirred up a hornet's nest about what productivity, or output per hour of labor, really means.

Charles Schultze, chairman of President Carter's Council of Economic Advisors, contends that "the biggest single factor in last year's 9 percent inflation rate was the reduced rate of productivity increase."

"When I hear the word productivity," steelworker Joe Samargis told a New York reporter, "I reach for my picket sign, because it's just another word for speed-up."

Labor's dilemma.

"The downturn in productivity growth rates may be a problem of measurement and not reality," insists Andy Oswald, AFL-CIO research director. "I don't know what the data Carter uses mean. Blaming an alleged decline in productivity for inflation is a phony argument anyway."

Productivity ratios are especially sensitive economic indicators because they reflect the day-to-day conflict between business and labor in the workplace. Although output per worker hour can be changed by factors ranging from the skill of the labor force to the work environment itself, the most widespread meth-

ods for increasing productivity involve automation, the pace of production, and capacity utilization.

For employers, productivity increases mean more profits per hour of labor. The increase in profits provides capital for new investment, and the chance for employees to bargain for a larger slice of the pie.

But for labor, the demands for increased productivity present a real dilemma. If workers accept faster production schedules and automation, their job conditions often deteriorate and they may be replaced by machines. If they fight programs to increase productivity, workers may hurt their employer's business, and they might be laid off.

As Oswald says, "Productivity increases are a mixed blessing." The workers can't win, but they can't get out of the game.

No one denies that productivity increases in the U.S. have lagged in recent years behind those in Japan, Canada and Western Europe. The question is who's to blame, with business, labor and government now pointing the finger at each other.

Business claims that government regulations, restrictive union contracts, and the increase of teenagers and women in the work force hold back productivity.

Government blames management for lack of capital spending, and labor for strikes and resisting automation.

Labor blames business for poor management skills and poor working conditions.

The ensuing battle over productivity statistics may seem like a tempest in a teapot. None of the parties has another job ready for Ron Shepherd, or a sense of where the drive for productivity increases will lead. But the winners of the argument will make the losers pay dearly, either in profits or wages or both.

With so much at stake, and with the re-

liability of the figures in doubt, it's worth examining just how the measurements are made and who makes them.

To begin with, the measuring of industrial output per hour of labor is traditionally the exclusive domain of management.

"All the data is generated by the industries themselves," says Barry Silverman, research director of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in San Francisco. "We have to rely on their figures, and so does the government."

"We don't keep productivity figures in any systematic way," adds John Bowers, assistant research director of Service Employees International Union Bay District Joint Council. "We're not in a position to get those figures."

Output statistics for the manufacturing sector are pretty straightforward—so many tons of steel, so many bags of cement, so many boxes of detergent. But measurement is very difficult in the non-goods producing sector of the economy, a broad category now comprising 65 percent of the hours worked in the U.S.

"How do you measure output in the services or government?" asks Jim Savorese, director of public policy for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in Washington, D.C. "They're not just cans of cherries—you can't simply count them up. There's no standardized product at the end."

In fact, there are some areas of the economy reporting figures "so unreliable that we won't publish them," says economist Lawrence Fulco of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Areas of the economy noted for "bad productivity measures" include construction, finance, insurance, real estate, and business and personal services. Together these comprise 29 percent of the total hours worked in 1978.

"It's often difficult to tell if productivity in the construction industry is up, down, or sideways," admits Fulco.

The productivity of government workers—federal, state and local—is disregarded in the statistics because of even worse measurement problems. But public

the work force. By combining the unemployed now comprise 20 percent of counted government workers with the BLS "unreliable" categories, it's evident that nearly 50 percent of the U.S. work force is virtually excluded from national productivity calculations.

"What's being done is so haphazard," concludes AFL-CIO's Oswald, "that we disregard figures in the non-manufacturing sectors."

Measuring surplus value.

The labor movement is especially indignant about the statistical sleight-of-hand that turns impressive production levels into miniscule productivity ratios. Only when business leaders talk to themselves are the all-important profit levels discussed.

For instance, the Texas Industrial Commission calculated the exact amount of money that was made from workers for every state in the union. For every dollar workers were paid in wages in 1972, they produced an average of \$3.35 for the company. On an annual basis, the average amount that a worker made for the company over and above his or her wages in 1972 was \$25,554.

The Texas Industrial Commission figures were compiled especially for a brochure attracting corporations to the state, and are an indication of the highly partisan nature of calculating the output of a worker's labor.

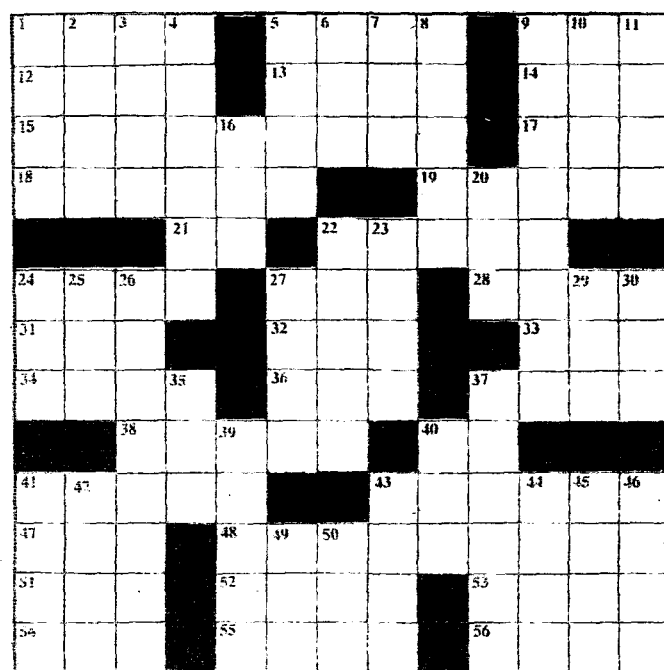
"We still have the highest productivity level of any nation in the world," admits C. Jackson Grayson, director of the privately-funded American Productivity Center in Houston.

Nonetheless, both industry and government are pointing to figures that show low productivity increases to encourage automation, scientific management, wage controls and deregulation of business.

Thus the current productivity figures, whatever their actual meaning, have become a battlefield in the struggle over jobs and profits.

(©1979 Pacific News Service)

Thomas Brom is labor editor of Pacific News Service.



- 6 Household god
- 7 Heavyweight boxing champ
- 8 Author of *From Immigrant to Inventor*: Michael
- 9 Islamic revolutionary leader
- 10 Assistant
- 11 Noun suffix, often derogatory
- 16 Undermine
- 20 *All the King's* ...
- 22 Regenerate
- 23 Bay of the Black Sea
- 24 Actor Holbrook
- 25 Caucho tree
- 26 First name of a Middle East V.I.P.
- 27 Conflagration
- 29 Neighbor of Mo.
- 30 incite
- 33 Judah
- 37 Calif. coastal resort area
- 39 Holy book of 9 Down
- 40 Chemical suffix
- 41 "Come into the garden, _____" (Tennyson)
- 42 City in Piedmont, Italy
- 43 Month of the Jewish calendar
- 44 River into the Seine
- 45 Rediged
- 46 Looped vase handle
- 49 Go in haste
- 50 Room in a harem

The Middle East et al.

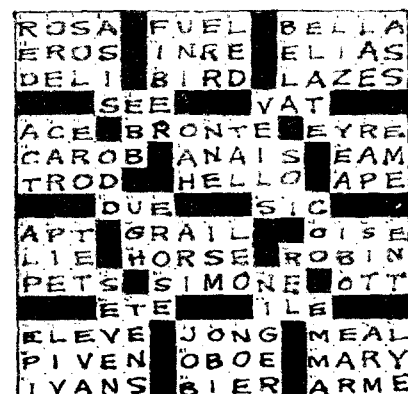
By Jay Shepherd

ACROSS

- 1 Sandy sediment
- 5 Applaud
- 9 18th century Dutch cabinet
- 12 Sandarac tree
- 13 Egyptian heaven
- 14 Theatrical success
- 15 Middle East area relating to the Egypt-Israel peace treaty
- 17 Pindaric form
- 18 In any case
- 19 Always: Ger.
- 21 Type of recording
- 22 Wife of a rajah
- 24 Makes a droning sound
- 27 City in N. Morocco
- 28 Antiaircraft missile
- 31 Popular pub drink
- 32 Daughter of Cadmus
- 33 Pester
- 34 Soviet river into the Arctic Ocean
- 36 Accelerate sharply an engine
- 37 The great Crooner
- 38 Awry
- 40 Roman 2
- 41 Portuguese colony near Hong Kong
- 43 War torn African country
- 47 Sodium carbonate (soda ...)
- 48 Ian Smith, for one
- 51 Shoshonean Indian
- 52 Lover of Radames
- 53 U.S. propaganda agency
- 54 Indistinct
- 55 _____ East
- 56 Girl's given name

DOWN

- 1 *The Forsyte* (Galsworthy)



Conference on ECONOMIC PLANNING: LEFT ALTERNATIVES

May 4-6, New York University

Keynotes include: Rep. John Conyers, Derek Shearer, David Gordon 8:10-9:30 p.m., Fri., Sat.

Panels:

Economic Democracy, Legislation, Media, Community and Labor Organizing, Transition to Socialism, and others Fri., Sat. 9:30-5:30, Sun. 10:30-6:00

Workshops

Health, Housing, Energy, Military Conversion

Morning Registration

Main Bldg., Rm. 908, Corner of Waverly Pl. & Washington Square East

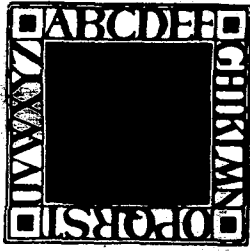
Evening Registration

Seitman Hall, Tisch Hall 40 W. 4th St.

Unemployed \$2, Employed \$5

Sponsors: Caucus for a New Political Science, Center for Marxist Studies, NYU

SOUTH END PRESS



BETWEEN LABOR AND CAPITAL

Pat Walker, Editor

Has 25% of the U.S. population formed a new "Professional and Managerial Class" that will require a new conception of the dynamics of social change? **A DEBATE**—with contributors including Barbara and John Ehrenreich, James Weinstein, Robert Schaeffer, Michael Albert and Robin Hahnel, Sandy Carter, Stanley Aronowitz

Paper - \$4.80 Hardcover - \$12.00

NO NUKES! Everyone's Guide to Nuclear Power

Anna Gyorgy and friends

A comprehensive guide to nuclear power—the history of the nuclear program, the costs and risks of nuclear power for consumers and workers, the impact of nukes on jobs, taxes and the community. Also introduces alternative energy sources. Charts, graphs, original graphics and photos.

Paper \$6.00 Hardcover \$13.00

STRIKE!

Jeremy Brecher

A revised edition of Brecher's classic account of American labor as a social movement. A vivid and exciting portrait of major periods of mass strikes in the U.S., focusing on the role of the rank and file.

Paper \$4.95

MAKE ALL CHECKS PAYABLE TO SOUTH END PRESS.
ADD 50¢ POSTAGE FOR EACH TITLE.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

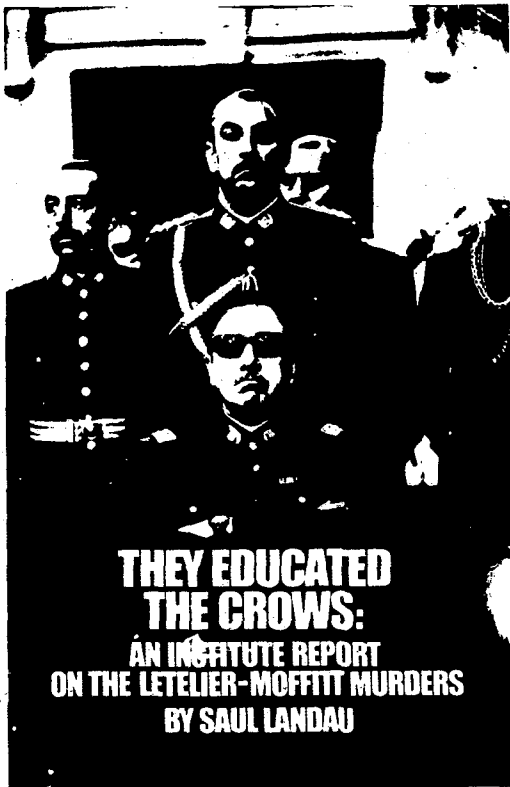
CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

Send to: IN THESE TIMES, 1509 North Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

The Institute's Two-Year Investigation of the Assassinations of Orlando Letelier & Ronni Karpen Moffitt



**THEY EDUCATED
THE CROWS:**
AN INSTITUTE REPORT
ON THE LETELIER-MOFFITT MURDERS
BY SAUL LANDAU

A DETAILED ACCOUNT of the crime, the investigation, the role of the CIA, the organization of the right wing terrorists and the Latin American secret police forces. This report, prepared by colleagues of Letelier and Moffitt traces the threads of the crime to terrorists organized by the CIA and the Chilean DINA. It details the plans for the orchestrated cover-ups and disinformation campaigns by former police and intelligence agents.

THEY EDUCATED THE CROWS

\$2.00 plus .40 postage and handling

I am enclosing \$ _____ for _____ copies of **THEY EDUCATED THE CROWS.**

_____ Please send me a complete listing of all the Institute's Publications.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

ALL ORDERS MUST BE PREPAID. DISCOUNTS FOR BULK ORDERS UPON REQUEST.

MAIL TO: **Institute for Policy Studies**

1901 Q Street N.W., Rm. 200, Washington, D.C. 20009

THE ALTERNATIVE

Goddard's Summer Program in Community Media—now in its fourth year—is a unique, intensive opportunity to work with radio, video, and people, developing media projects at the grassroots level. Using tools and techniques available to individuals or groups working in community action, education, the arts, and social change agencies including INTERACT, a statewide network of two-way TV sites; the St. Johnsbury TV Co-op; the Vermont Alternative Media Project; the New England Radio Alliance; the Image Co-op; and WGDR; Goddard's educational FM station. Analysis of and experiments with video for social change, live interactive TV, and new documentary forms will take place in an atmosphere designed to encourage exploration of community-based alternatives to mass media.

For information, contact Ann McIntosh, Box CM-7, Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont 05667.

Visiting Artists:

Richard Leacock, cinema verité pioneer of the 1960's, Professor of Film at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, maker of "Happy Mother's Day," "Primary," and "The Chair." Leacock is currently working in small format video and super-8 film.

George Stoney, Professor of Film and Video, New York University, Co-director, NYC Alternate Media Center; former director of the Canadian Film Board's "Challenge for Change" program; Stoney's most recent film is "How the Myth Was Made," based on Robert Flaherty's "Man of Aran."

Nancy Cain and Bart Friedman of Media Bus, Laneville, New York.

Faculty:

Ann McIntosh, program director, is a freelance video artist who has taught at MIT and the University of Wisconsin. She is currently working as a founder of the National Federation of Local Cable Programmers and has written, produced, and directed numerous low-cost, small-format video documentaries.

Paul McIsaac, associate director, left New York City four years ago to found the Summer Program in Community Media. Before coming to Goddard, he worked in theater and video and was Director of Special Programming for WBAI, the Pacifica Network's listener-sponsored radio station in New York City. In addition to his work with Community Media, Paul teaches in the Goddard Program in Integral Education, an alternative summer-based B.A. program. He is currently organizing the proposed conversion of WGDR from a 10-watt college station to an 800-watt community station.

COMMUNITY MEDIA

Financial aid available for continued study. B.A. and M.A. levels. Goddard College admits students without regard to race, color, national origin, religion, sex, or handicap.

**LAWRENCE
HILL & CO.**
Publishers, Inc.

BOOKS FROM LAWRENCE HILL PUBLISHERS:

BLACK AFRICA: The Economic and Cultural Basis for a Federated State

Cheikh Anta Diop, translated by Harold J. Salemson

The leader of the political opposition in Senegal outlines a plan for the future of Africa, including a discussion of recent discoveries of energy resources and the urgency of economic cooperation.

Cloth \$7.95

Paper \$3.95

SOUTH AFRICA AND U.S. MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS Ann and Neva Seidman

Documents the extent to which U.S. multinational corporations have penetrated the economy of South Africa and how they bolster the apartheid regime

Cloth \$10.00

Paper \$4.95

Please send the following titles:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

SEND TO: **In These Times**

1509 North Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60622

LIFE IN THE U.S.

Opposition to nuclear dump grows

By Peter R. Meinick

AS THE THREE MILE ISLAND nuclear plant cools down, it brings new problems of clean-up and waste disposal with it. The best plans to clean up radioactive waste, we learn, are feeble.

But the disposal of Three Mile Island is only the most dramatic recent example of the waste problem to bedevil the nuclear industry. For 30 years, radioactive garbage has been generated by reactors working according to plan. And there has never been a place safely to throw it away. Now the industry is growing dangerously constipated and the Department of Energy (DOE) is searching desperately for a way to relieve the pressure.

For deliverance, the DOE has placed nearly all its hopes on the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant (WIPP), an attempt at burying nuclear wastes in salt beds near Carlsbad, N.M., the state that housed the Manhattan Project and that now produces more than a third of the nation's uranium ore.

According to the DOE's optimistic calendar, the WIPP should be in operation by 1988. In the meantime, numerous commercial reactors around the country will be forced to shut down as their own temporary storage facilities reach capacity. And California and several other states have imposed bans on the construction of nuclear reactors pending the development of safe waste storage techniques, while a *de facto* ban on plant construction rules the rest of the nation.

Political pressures, according to Jeff Nathanson, a member of an Albuquerque-based environmentalist group, Southwest Research and Information Center, caused the DOE to focus on New Mexico without sufficient regard for environmental concerns.

"The DOE went to Kansas and they got thrown out because of their bad planning and arrogance. So they tried Michigan, and got thrown out for the same reason," Nathanson says, adding, "Now they've come to New Mexico, where they're expecting it to go down easily because the nuclear industry is so strong in this state."

If New Mexico seemed especially receptive to housing nuclear wastes back in 1972, when Gov. Bruce King invited the Energy Department to consider his state for waste disposal projects, mistrust of the DOE now runs high in New Mexico's state government. This is largely due to the DOE's policies on three key issues: (1) the state's right to veto the WIPP, (2) the kinds of wastes slated to be buried in the Carlsbad site, and (3) the question of how WIPP will be licensed.

State veto.

The veto question has probably proven the most damaging to the DOE's credibility. Last spring, Energy Department Secretary James Schlesinger wrote a letter to New Mexico's then Attorney General Tony Anaya, assuring him New Mexico would have absolute veto power on the WIPP. In July, however, the U.S. General Accounting Office announced that the Energy Department lacks authority to grant New Mexico veto power.

"I would not accept Schlesinger's word on anything now," Anaya said at a December press conference.

Sen. Pete Domenici (R-NM) is currently drafting a bill that would guarantee New Mexico's right of first refusal on the WIPP. Even New Mexico's governor, who waxed enthusiastic over the project in the early 70s, has modified his position to accommodate prevailing political winds.

"A state-wide referendum on WIPP would be an ideal thing," King said in February. "The only way I'm going to



Walter Gerrels, mayor of Carlsbad, N.M., says he's always had a "wonderful relationship" with the Department of Energy.

Kansas and Michigan have banned waste disposal. Other states have a *de facto* ban on new plants.

feel comfortable about WIPP coming here is if the DOE can assure us it's not going to be detrimental to our well-being. And they haven't been able to do that so far."

Unsuitable salt.

Until last year the Energy Department planned for the WIPP to function only as a storage facility for low-level military waste, consisting mainly of tools and clothing used in the construction of nuclear warheads. In March 1978, however, the DOE dropped a bombshell: two other kinds of waste—industrial spent fuel rods and high-level military waste—will also be placed in the Carlsbad salt beds.

Nathanson and other anti-WIPP activists argue that salt is not a suitable medium for waste disposal at all. According to Terry Lash, a staff-scientist with the National Resource Defense Council, a small amount of water is always present in salt crystals. The relatively high temperatures emitted by high-level wastes release some of this water and may corrode the casing surrounding the wastes.

Geologists raise equally serious objections specific to the proposed WIPP site, which lies in the Delaware Basin, a valley 135 miles across that extends south 60 miles into west Texas. Scientists with Sandia Laboratories, the Albuquerque-based company the Energy Department commissioned to evaluate the site, are quick to point out that within the Delaware Basin the current site is the best possible location for waste disposal. An in-house report issued by one Sandia-contracted scientist, however, suggests the entire basin is a poor choice for radioactive storage.

According to Roger Y. Anderson, author of the Sandia report and a geology professor at the University of New Mexico, an underground water-flow is gradually dissolving all the salt in the Delaware Basin. Anderson estimates as much as a million years may elapse before the dissolution is complete, but adds that weather cycles could drastically speed up the process.

Long before the salt dissolves, the water-flow may damage the site by boring holes up through the salt deposits, Anderson explains. The presence of such holes, called breccia pipes, forced the

DOE to abandon its first Carlsbad WIPP site in 1974, seven miles from the current site. And there is no guarantee that the WIPP site is free of breccia pipes, or that pipes won't develop in the future, Anderson adds.

The DOE, however, is sanguine about Anderson's findings. William Armstrong, director of the WIPP office in Carlsbad, says he regards the Anderson report as "fuel for the antis." "We feel we have a first-class handle on the geology of the site," Armstrong explains, adding, "Basically Sandia feels there are no breccia pipes in the area."

Sandia scientists have already located one breccia pipe in the current site, Armstrong says.

Licensing furor.

Many New Mexicans also want the project to be subject to external licensing. But until this year the Energy Department stood firmly against any form of licensing on the WIPP. Several months ago the department performed an about-face, and now supports Congressional action empowering the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) to hold licensing for the WIPP's low-level waste. The NRC—the agency responsible for licensing all commercial reactors—does not currently possess the legal right to license the waste disposal site.

"The federal government realizes by now that they either get public support for some form of waste disposal, or they just have to forget about nuclear power—it's that simple," says Richard Holland, a member of the federally-funded Environmental Evaluation Group, created in November to review the DOE's data on the WIPP site.

"The position of everyone I know in New Mexico is that there should be licensing," Holland continues. "And when pushed, if there isn't licensing, people feel there better be some damn good equivalent process—and that means more than an environmental impact statement."

But the Energy Department steadfastly opposes licensing for the high-level wastes. "Subjecting the high-level facilities to licensing would restrict the end-project on our R&D (research and development)," Don Schueler, WIPP project director for the DOE in Albuquerque, says. "Besides,

for 30 years the Atomic Energy Commission handled the R&D aspects of nuclear energy without encountering any difficulties, and I cite specifically the Nevada test site," Schueler adds, in tones intended to reassure.

Above-ground test-bombings at the Nevada site have produced an abnormally-high cancer rate among army personnel involved in the tests, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare concluded last year. The tests may have produced a similar effect on local civilian populations, former Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall has charged.

Some state officials fear the DOE has sunk so much effort and money into the WIPP—more than \$100 million to date—that the NRC may find a decision to withhold licensing impossible. One highly-placed official in the state's department of Health and Environment asks, "You name me the federal judge who's willing to turn down the project after a half-billion dollars in taxpayers' money has been sunk into the damn thing."

Good for business.

Only the Carlsbad community seems to share the DOE's absolute conviction in the project. And with good reason. Oil and gas deposits near the town will soon be depleted, and the potash industry—the largest industry in Carlsbad today—faces a sharp decline under competition from Canadian potash mines. Over the last decade Carlsbad has lost more than 1200 jobs due to the failure of these industries.

"When the AEC first examined the Carlsbad area back in 1972," Carlsbad's mayor, Walter Gerrels recalls, "we adopted a policy that, as long as the scientific data indicates no harm will come to the people of Carlsbad, then we support the project on a retrievable basis. In the last seven years we've had no cause to withdraw our support."

Gerrels says he will rely on the Energy Department entirely to evaluate the project's safety. "We have always had a wonderful relationship with the DOE," Gerrels boasts, adding, "I'm sure they'd come to us right away if they found anything wrong with the WIPP."

While most Carlsbad shopkeepers and businessmen support the WIPP, not all the townspeople share their point of view. "I'm totally against the thing," one man said in a heavy Spanish accent. "It's bad for my people. Other people can move away if something goes wrong, but I can't afford to move. Besides, I was born here. There's no place else for us to go."

SPORTSCENE

BASKETBALL

Money puts heat on women's game

By Barry Jacobs

WHEN CATHY RUSH WAS head coach at tiny Immaculata College of Immaculata, Pa., her teams were the best in women's college basketball. Playing without scholarships, publicity, significant recruitment of athletes, her teams were AIAW (Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women) champions from 1972 to 1974 and runners up in 1975 and 1976.

And what does Cathy Rush think now when she looks back on those days? "We were all naive and inexperienced," she says with nostalgia and regret.

Of all the changes wrought by Title IX—federal legislation passed in 1972 mandating equal athletic opportunity regardless of sex—none have been more dramatic than those that have taken place in women's college basketball. The game has emerged both on and off the court as the mainstay of a movement that is already revolutionizing American women's athletics. That the change is for the good is not altogether certain.

Title IX requires educational institutions from the elementary school level through college to provide equal funding for male and female athletes on a per capita basis. For traditionally poor women's athletic programs, this has brought both unprecedented opportunities and unfamiliar problems.

Pressure to produce.

The days are gone when the person (often a man) who coached the women's basketball team also taught a full load of p.e. courses, when women were lucky to

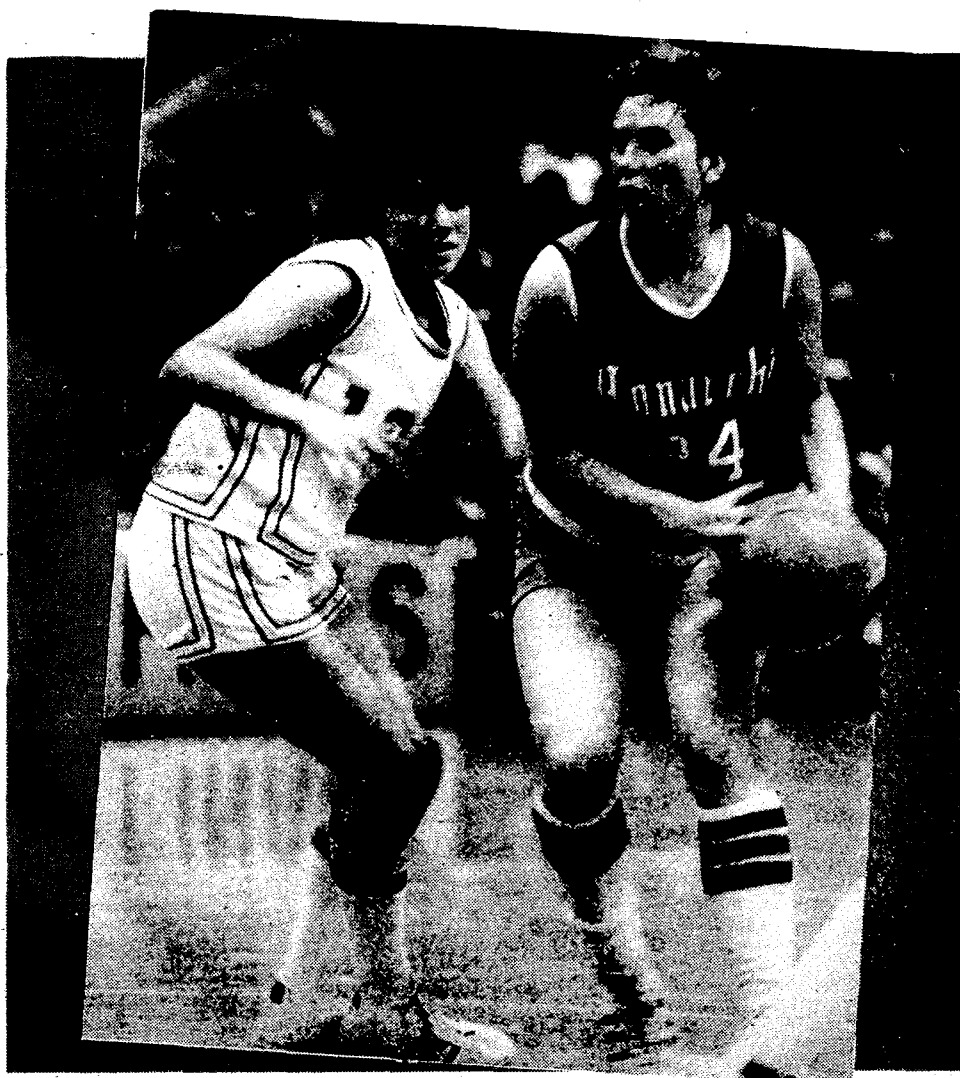
have uniforms or a place to dress or play. But gone too are the days of the 5'10" center, of the walk-on athlete out to have some fun. As is happening in other women's sports, increased financial support for basketball has been accompanied by a corresponding increase in the pressure to produce.

The recent AIAW national basketball championship tournament at Greensboro, N.C., illustrated the changes and dangers facing women's sports.

The Immaculatas (now a Division II school) and Wayland Baptists were absent from the final four, replaced by Tennessee, UCLA, Old Dominion and Louisiana Tech, state institutions that, until a few years ago, virtually ignored women's basketball. Reflecting the same premium on height that has transformed men's basketball into a game of giants, each team had a 6'5" center on its roster, along with several other players 6'0" or taller. And two of the four semifinalists, Tennessee and eventual champion Old Dominion, had reputations for taking advantage of, if not breaking, the AIAW's lenient rules.

While the venerable NCAA (National Collegiate Athletic Association) has strict rules and its own full-time enforcement staff to oversee men's athletics, the seven-year-old AIAW relies on less restrictive regulations and a concept of self-policing. With more and more money at stake, and in the face of increasing pressures to win, may AIAW rules appear laughably unrealistic. "A lot of women in this game are awfully naive—not only about how big it's gotten, but about each other," says Old Dominion coach Marianne Stanley, whose team is reportedly the subject of an investigation for recruiting violations.

Take the success of the University of



Old Dominion's Rhonda Rompola and UCLA's Debbie Willie.

Tennessee and coach Pat Head. Citing fairness to the student-athlete, AIAW rules permit a player to transfer from one school to another without having to sit out a year as is the case in the NCAA. This season Head's squad, led by three-time All-America Cindy Brogdon, lured from Mercer University, and by center Cindy Noble, who came to the Lady Vols from Ohio State, was dubbed "The University of Transfer" by rivals. In fact, Head nearly induced Old Dominion's team leader Nancy Lieberman, winner of the Wade trophy for player of the year, to transfer to Tennessee.

Yet AIAW officials remain resolute in their belief that they can avoid the pitfalls that have plagued the men. "I'd hate for us to buy the assumption that in order to get the best team in the country, you have to violate the rules to get there," says Bonnie Slatton, acting executive director of the AIAW. Slatton insists that the AIAW's strength is in the flexibility and openness of its rules, which she says are "sensitive to the membership" and

passed at every level by boards with at least one voting student member.

The women gathered in Greensboro, though, were anxious to sell their brand of basketball. Cathy Rush, on hand to provide TV commentary, echoed the sentiments of many AIAW adherents when she fretted several times over the weekend that regardless of who made the finals, "I just hope it's a good show."

Ironically, in a weekend of generally fine basketball, the championship match-up provided some of the weakest play. Of course, given the added pressures they place on athletes, championship games often produce less than stellar performances. Still, observers were impressed with a style of play frequently crisp and fast-paced, abetted by a 30-second clock that forced teams to put up the ball against even the most tenacious zone defenses. It was good fundamental basketball, with slick ballhandling guards like Tennessee's Holly Warlick and Old Dominion's Lieberman controlling play.

One was tempted to agree with Rush when she likened the women's game to men's basketball of two decades ago, a finesse affair far removed from the run and gun offense, the wave-as-they-go-by defense, and the overall rough and tumble action now seen in places like the NBA. And there was something refreshing about watching four games in which no one tried a slam dunk, that bit of often gratuitous effrontery in which a player goes out of his way to "put it down" in someone else's face.

There were signs, however, that the women's game was headed in some of the same oncourt directions the men have already taken. Louisiana Tech (34-4) and Old Dominion (35-1) survived the semifinals largely because they started their 6-5 centers while Tennessee's was injured and UCLA's wasn't seasoned enough to see much action. Tech's Elinor Griffin and the Lady Monarchs' Inge Nissen towered over their rivals; they made it easy for their teams to pass over a pressing defense. Their shotblocking, rebounding and unstoppable shooting clearly presaged a shift toward the height- and power-oriented inside game now favored by the men. In addition, Tech's reliance on two, and sometimes three black players demonstrated the success to be had by teams that move to the forefront in recruiting still-rare black women into their programs.

That recruitment will be helped by the emergence of the eight-team women's professional basketball league now finishing its first season, by the 1976 introduction of women's basketball into the Olympics, and by increased media attention. And with better media coverage will come more fans, more at least than the 3000 who showed up in Greensboro (at \$10 a head) for each of the two days of this season's AIAW championships.

Midwest takes men's basketball

By Joe Heumann

Men's basketball's post season tournaments became an all Midwest preserve this year. Only the domination of Michigan State kept the citizens of Indiana from having the distinction of watching Notre Dame play Indiana State at the NCAA finals, at Salt Lake City, while they did see the University of Indiana defeat Purdue in the finals of the NIT, held in New York City.

The national sports press has perpetuated the big lie that basketball is an exclusive city game, but Midwesterners have always known that country and small town kids can play the game, too. Basketball fever consumes the small farming and manufacturing communities of the Midwest and by March—high school tourney time—all other sports take a back seat to local pride. Statewide TV coverage and showcase facilities in Champaign, Ill., and Indianapolis, Ind., mark the end of every high school season, for male and female athletes alike.

National coverage means recognition that will help recruiting efforts for regional universities like Indiana State and DePaul. Indiana boys will want to stay in-state, and Chicago's finest are now realizing that playing for their home city is better than traveling hundreds and thousands of miles away from constant press coverage and fan adulation.

City met country in the NCAA finals

this year and the game became a matchmaker's fantasy, as Earvin Magic Johnson was showcased against player of the year, Larry Bird. Michigan State, which played the best basketball of any team in the last two months of the season (in the toughest conference in the nation), beat ISU 75-64, but the game would have been much closer if the Sycamores of Terre Haute had shot better from the free throw line.

Bird and Johnson are the precursors of the new big ball players, who can play all roles demanded by basketball. Both the 6'7" Johnson and the 6'9" Bird pass as well as any man to have ever played the game. Their height allows them to rebound and shoot inside, while also giving them the opportunity to control games by directing offensive outputs of their teammates. Both are considered instant pro stars and both have been already under intense pro pressure to leave college and play for big pay.

Larry Bird has now become a national celebrity, but he was no secret to the Indiana-Illinois area for the past three years. A superb outside shooter, Bird is an incredibly hard-working player, with an uncanny sense of court position. He is one of the best offensive rebounders in the game and his passing talents are impossible to describe.

Playing in his fifth year as a college athlete, Bird could have skipped the last year and gone pro. The Boston Celtics had drafted him last year and dangled huge dollar amounts in his face, but Bird

claimed that he was returning to ISU to bring them a national championship. (He got them the number one ranking in the nation, but not the title.)

Rumors have the Celtics offering incredible dollars to Bird, so that he will stay out of this year's pro draft. The figures start at \$3 million and go as high as five, according to the press. Five million dollars is a possibility, because Bird is an instant franchise, not only because of his talents, but because he is white. Pro basketball desperately needs white superstars, to sell the game to national TV audiences. Bird is the savior they look to.

Rumors also have Earvin Johnson—only a sophomore—going to the pros this year. He is fast, big, has great court sense, is a natural leader and has a love for the game that attracts thousands of fans. His charisma is so strong that Greg Kelser is the best unknown forward that MSU has ever produced. A sure pro prospect and a great power forward, Kelser understood Johnson's crowd appeal. He had helped recruit his teammate two years earlier and their affection for one another was obvious throughout the entire post season tournament.

The Midwest has never been stronger in college play and will continue strong in the coming years. And Bird and Magic may be only the beginning of a radical change in college ball, accentuating the big man with complete skills who has the ability to play team ball.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

TELEVISION

Conservative style works well with Shakespeare plays

By Mathew Winston

Cedric Messina, executive producer of the BBC-Time/Life television series that is screening all 37 of Shakespeare's plays over a six-year span, intends the series largely for "people who may never have seen anything by Shakespeare before." The first six plays, shown from February through April on PBS stations, give us a fair sampling of the whole: tragedies, comedies, and histories, famous and relatively unknown plays, and plays from several stages of Shakespeare's career.

The series avoids idiosyncratic interpretations that have marked the past decade and transformed Shakespeare into Beon or Lonesco, Marx or Freud, Mack Sennett or Ingmar Bergman. Safe and conventional, they also constitute a fine introduction to Shakespeare, especially to plays that seldom get off the printed page.

The production of *Measure for Measure*, to be shown April 11 and later rebroadcast, offers us a strong and well-acted version of a fascinating but little-known play. Because the audience is unlikely to have many preconceptions about the play, it also serves as a test of how satisfactorily this series realizes its various aims.

The story of *Measure for Measure* is not hard to follow. Duke Vincentio (Kenneth Colley) leaves Vienna and appoints as his deputy Angelo (Tim Pigott-Smith), an austere man whose task is to enforce laws which the Duke has tolerantly neglected. Angelo solves on the moral code and soon imprisons Claudio and Juliet, a betrothed couple whose self-indulgence has led to pregnancy. He sentences Claudio to death. Claudio's sister, Isabella, a novice in a nunnery, pleads with Angelo for her brother's life, but her pious paradoxically excites the otherwise frigid Angelo, who proposes to spare Claudio's head in exchange for Isabella's maidenhead. But the Duke has remained on the scene all along, disguised as a friar, in order to watch Angelo and to learn what his subjects think and how they behave. As the play progresses, he increasingly controls the actions of the other characters in order to avert a potential tragedy and create a comedy complete with multiple marriages.

The first half of *Measure for Measure* raises complex, ethical, social, and psychological problems never fully resolved except on the level of the plot. The major characters all struggle to reconcile conflicting claims of the spirit and of the flesh, just as the law and those who enforce it try to find a workable balance between the extremes of punitive justice and the absolute mercy.

Balance and equity.

Angelo and Isabella both elevate abstract concepts over the messy

particulars of life; but simplistic solutions don't work either for the individual or for the state, and this play allows no escape. Those who have isolated themselves from the throng of life (Isabella lives in a nunnery, the Duke has kept removed from his subjects, and Angelo has repressed his own sexuality and suppressed that of the populace) are integrated into humanity through marriage. They also learn that their aspirations to angelic purity are destructive.

At the same time, low-life characters, who evade moral and social laws as best they can, are elevated to human status, and their excesses—thievery, prostitution and bastard children—are checked.

Of all Shakespeare's plays, *Measure for Measure* is the most concerned with the need for psychic equilibrium and for social equity, and with the extreme difficulty of attaining this balance. The play dances its way through a dialectic in which both Vienna and its leading inhabitants move from one extreme to its opposite before they reach a synthesis in which the state and its citizens can keep from destroying each other and the characters can reconcile the conflicting needs that have been tearing them apart and turning them into monsters.

The richness of *Measure for Measure* is clear. But there is something unsatisfying about the way Shakespeare and his plot-writing, stage-managing Duke convert problematic characters who raise difficult issues and find themselves in intolerable situations into the material of comedy. Even the splendid poetry of the drama (Claudio's speech on the terrors of death is at least the match of Hamlet's) flattens as the play moves toward its end.

Television pros and cons.

If Shakespeare did not completely realize all his apparent aims, then we cannot expect any actor



Isabella (Kate Nelligan) and Angelo (Tim Pigott-Smith) in *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*.

to portray every aspect of these multi-faceted characters. Choices must be made, and the decisions of the BBC actors and of director Desmond Davis are generally intelligent ones (with such exceptions as the cigar-smoking madam and the dwarf jailors). For example, Kate Nelligan has chosen to play Isabella as a "strong-minded, eloquent, generous, feeling, warm, good woman" rather than as a sexual hysteric, the embodiment of virtue or a self-satisfied prig, all of which alternatives are viable and some of which speak more directly to our discomfort with a woman who values her virginity more than her brother's life.

Whatever the talents of the actors in *Measure for Measure* and the 36 other plays, the performances can only be evaluated as they succeed or fail on television. In *Measure for Measure*, we are made to feel Isabella's helpless isolation after Angelo makes his monstrous offer by the camera's withdrawing from Isabella until she is a small figure in the background. The camera may also direct us to a telling detail, like the blood-red sealing wax which Angelo stamps when Isabella enters to beg mercy for her brother. (Probably the most skillful use of film in the series so far has been the illusion of time passing during Richard II's long prison soliloquy.)

The most important feature of drama lost in the translation to film is the simultaneous presence of several characters at once within the visible and limited space of the stage. Television in particular excels at the close-up, but every close-up isolates the character.

Yet the television close-up has its advantages. Some of the finest moments in the Shakespeare ser-

ies arise from such close scrutiny, especially of Richard Pasco as Brutus in *Julius Caesar* and as the melancholy Jacques in *As You Like It*. Television can project intimacy well, as when the Duke and Duchess of York discuss the fate of their monarchs and nephews in *Richard II*. Both combine

in the two central encounters between Angelo and Isabella, so alike and so different, where a camera stationed behind each catches the profile of one and the full face of the other, and our view keeps shifting from speaker to listener in a scene both private and intense.

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.

ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE

Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning

11 GRACE AVENUE
Great Neck, N.Y. 11021
212-895-7005
516-466-4642

In These Times fills an urgent need for facts and ideas that can help the people of the U.S. learn how to govern their own future.

Barry Commoner
author, *The Poverty of Power*



CULTURE SHOCK

YOU LIGHT UP MY FEET

Discoshoes (a brand name), which sell for \$100 a pair, have heels and toes equipped with tiny flashing bulbs that light up as the wearer dances.

STRANGER THAN FICTION

The Chinese newspaper *People's Daily*, as well as state-owned radio and TV ads in Shanghai are accepting ads from the West on a trial basis.

MEANWHILE, BACK IN 1958...

The former head of Rhodesian Broadcasting Co. kept disco off the air, and trusts his successors to keep the lid on. "It's a contributing factor to epilepsy," he says. It's what the Watusis do to whip up a war... It turns a group into a malleable mob. East Germany and the Iron Curtain countries have forbidden it. They tumbled to this long ago."

EAST, MEET WEST

Advertising Age has published a vocabulary list of Southern California expressions for baffled Eastern businessmen. Included are "gone disco" (sold out), "cowboy" (someone disorderly without being amusing), and "out there" (the Midwest and East).

Find an odd, ironic or funny item in the news? Send it to *Culture Shock*. Contributors will be acknowledged.

- ☐ Send IN THESE TIMES for 4 trial months. Here's \$8.75.
☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of IN THESE TIMES. Here's \$19.00.
Name _____
Address _____
City, State _____
Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.
IN THESE TIMES, P.O. Box 228, Westchester, IL 60153 ST 19

- ☐ Send IN THESE TIMES for 4 trial months. Here's \$8.75.
☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of IN THESE TIMES. Here's \$19.00.
Name _____
Address _____
City, State _____
Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.
IN THESE TIMES, P.O. Box 228, Westchester, IL 60153 ST 19

BOOKS

This utopia's a nice place to visit, but...

By Fluffy Golod

"Life is a struggle, has to be. If there is no struggle, there is no life," insists Terry, the arch-creep in Charlotte Perkins Gilman's utopian novel, *Herland* (Pantheon, \$8.95 cloth, \$2.95 paper). He's not talking about political struggle. What he misses is a more elemental need to pit oneself against some other force—killer bees, aliens, mountains. He feels bereft in a world full of orderly, competent and independent women. Not only does nobody need him, nobody will fight with him.

The book may put many sympathetic readers in the difficult position of sharing Terry's antipathy for *Herland* and its exemplary inhabitants, because Gilman's inability (or unwillingness) to breathe narrative life into her political vision makes the short novel an exercise in good intentions and boring reading.

The book is doubly disappointing since one would like a feminist utopia to succeed as a novel and engage large audiences, and since Gilman can write with frightening vividness. Her short story, "The Yellow Wallpaper," describes a bright but frustrated woman's obsessive attachment to

the wallpaper of the bedroom where she is confined. It is said to be based on Gilman's own experiences with a psychiatrist who was treating hysterical women with enforced bed cures that drove some of them into madness and suicide. *Herland*, written as part of a utopian trilogy and produced during Gilman's most prolific period, lacks the depth and passion of "The Yellow Wallpaper."

Gilman was a brave and exceptional woman. She was a Fabian socialist, a feminist, a lecturer, writer, editor and mother. She wrote a ponderous but intelligent volume, *Women and Economics* in 1898, wrote all the copy and produced her own magazine for seven years, lectured widely, left her husband and child, brooked the acute social censure which such an act incurred in 1895, and managed the best of all feats, a genuinely friendly and life-long relationship with her ex-husband, his second wife and her child.

That Gilman's work has been revived and is receiving attention is only justice. *Herland*, beyond its historical and political interest, just isn't the book to revive.

Miraculous utopia.

Herland is a small country of women who inhabit a lush garden-land somewhere in South



Charlotte Perkins Gilman at 24 (top) and in her early 60s (left).

America. Three explorers take seriously the stories of their native guides about a land of women and mount a successful expedition to *Herland*. They are approached cautiously but civilly by the local ladies but when the men make a nervous, ill-advised attempt to break from the hundreds of women who implacably surround them, they are quietly, efficiently stopped, bound and anesthetized. The bulk of the story follows them through a gentle but firm re-education process, marriage for two of them and deportation for the hostile, unconstructable Terry.

The book doesn't work as a utopia since the whole basis for the new society is a miracle that

doesn't fit very well in the book's otherwise flatly practical atmosphere. It seems that the women found themselves alone after an earthquake cut their country off from the rest of the world and the slaves of the old society used the catastrophe as an occasion to off their masters. The women resisted the slaves' attempts to enslave them and defeated the insurgents. The small surviving population of women resigned themselves to live out their days constructively, sheltering and feeding themselves and writing a history of their experience for any future visitors. Their devoted communalism produces a miracle—parthenogenic birth. The women bear only girl-children and those who are not

mature, or who exhibit undesirable physical or character traits are asked to forego the bearing of children. The only physiological explanation of the births is that women feel "exultant" before they are ready to give birth, and if they are judged unready to bear children, they are asked to work and exercise strenuously until the exultation passes.

As a progressive and a pacifist, Gilman could not create a society where the women had rejected men out of hand or murdered them. But like many feminists, she thought that women, on sabbatical from men, might create a more just and equitable society. The grace of a utopian vision is the cleverness and intuition with which an author can fashion a better future and make it plausible given an advance in science or consciousness. Parthenogenesis is an escape from the utopian challenge, eliminating sticky old sex and the usual difficulties with possessiveness, jealousy and unrequited love. Remember, the women are not lesbian, they're asexual—and exultant.

Gilman's refusal to acknowledge sexual need or anxiety collides unhappily with her narrative deficiency. Although the early chapters rollick along merrily enough, the story falters after the mystery of the births is explained. The most astonishing features of *Herland* are the sophisticated systems of education and self-rule that function and improve without bureaucracies or even institutions to make them work. Here is Gilman at her best, blue-printing the fine details of education without schools, social planning without government, reform and healing without prisons or hospitals.

Continued on page 23.

CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

SOUTHWEST ECONOMY AND SOCIETY: Articles on Navajo Unions, Chicano Labor History, racism in education, etc. Free info., write: SES, Box 4482, Albuquerque, NM 87196.

SOUTHERN AFRICA SOLIDARITY, newsletter of the solidarity movement in the U.S.; 50¢ per issue. #4 just out—articles on: account of the war in Zimbabwe, campus reports, etc. Write to: SAS, P.O. Box 14, Kendall Sq. Station, Cambridge, MA 02142.

TEENAGE WOMEN, before you volunteer for the military, be sure you know what happens to those tricked into enlisting. Read **WOMEN: THE RECRUITER'S LAST RESORT**, 75¢ plus 50¢ postage and handling. From RECON, P.O. Box 14602, Philadelphia, PA 19134.

APRIL JEWISH CURRENTS, Editorial: "NEXT PEACE STEP FOR ISRAEL." Special Holocaust issue: "Dimensions of Heroism" by Cynthia J. Haft; "Sofievke Under Nazism" by A.H. White; "Dispelling Holocaust Mystification," by Max Rosenfeld; Poems by Rosemary Fong, Barbara L. Gelber, Judy Lent. Single copy 60¢. Subscription \$7.50 yearly (until May 1, after which \$10) U.S.A. Jewish Currents, Dept. T, 22 East 17 St., N.Y.C. 10003. Pamphlet by Louis Harap, "The Zionist Movement Revisited" Send 60¢. Special—A TEN YEAR HARVEST, Third Jewish Currents Reader, 1966-1976, 300 pp. paperback, \$3.75.

WOMEN ARTISTS NEWS doesn't just entertain you. It also informs you. \$6 per year (10 issues). Box 3304, Dept. I, Grand Central Station, NYC 10017.

FREE SPEECH? ACLU and courts are wrong! 24p scholarly 'interview' with Meiklejohn, noted educator/ACLU'er. \$2.00 ppd. Lou Jones, 511 Verano Ct., San Mateo, CA 94402.

YOURS IN THE STRUGGLE: REMINISCENCES OF TIM BUCK, edited by William Beeching and Dr. Phyllis Clarke. The fascinating story of Canada's outstanding spokesman of the Left, told in his own words. NC Press. Paper \$9.95, cloth \$20.00, order from: Box 85, Levittown, NY 10756.

WHY NOT LAUGH? Cultural Correspondence #9 combines radical and feminist jokesters, story-tellers and artists in Sex-Role humor, workplace jokes, Sports jibes, Revolutionary Humor Archives featuring OSCAR AMERINGER. Also TV criticism, Coney Island paintings, 1930s poets interviewed, Kids' Section. 88 pp. \$2/copy, \$7.50/year (quarterly). c/o Dorwar Bookstore, 224 Thayer St., Providence, RI 02906.

CHINA, CAMBODIA AND VIETNAM, a new 50-page essay analyzing China's role in Vietnam and Cambodia and big power relations in Southeast Asia. Written by Anthony Barnett, London-based Fellow of the Transnational Institute, the international program of the Institute for Policy Studies, and author of a forthcoming book on Cambodia. Send \$1 for the essay and 50¢ postage c/o China, TNI/IPS, 1901 Que St., NW, Washington, DC 20009.

EVENTS

THE 4TH ANNUAL MIDWEST Radical Therapy Conference will be held on May 26-28 in rural Iowa. Interested people and radical therapists are invited to exchange information, unite and to organize. Planned workshops include: History of Radical Psychiatry, Mental Patient Liberation, Problem-Solving Groups, Radical Politics and Social Change, Nurturing Yourself and Language as Power. For a brochure: HERA, 436 S. Johnson, Iowa City, IA 52240. Scholarships are available.

ALTERNATE U. (NYC, 1969-71) reunion, May Day, Berkeley, 848-1741.

MINNEAPOLIS

THE HISTORY AND ROLE OF LABOR IN MINNESOTA

Mon., April 16 7 pm
With: Ken McGinnis, Int'l Union of Machinists
Tom O'Connell,
Farmer-Labor Ass'n.
East Lake St. Branch
Minneapolis Public Library
Sponsored by DSOC

LOS ANGELES

"THE ENERGY CRISIS:
A POLITICAL CRISIS"
With: Dr. Barry Commoner
Fritchman Aud., 2936 W. 8th
Tues., April 24 8 pm
Sponsor:
New American Movement
\$3 donation

HELP WANTED

ORGANIZERS WANTED FOR WORK IN THE SOUTHEAST. Middle East peace education, Atlanta. Transportation of nuclear cargo, High Point, N.C. Disarmament & southern Africa, Mobile, Ala. Write: American Friends Service Committee, P.O. Box 2234, High Point, N.C. 27261.

ATLANTA—Small law firm with Affirmative Action Policy seeks attorney; litigation in prison, civil rights, consumer (Truth-in-Lending), criminal defense, general. \$800/month. Send resume & legal writing sample: BOWEN, DERRICKSON, GOLDBERG & WEST, #600-I Healey Building, Atlanta, GA 30303.

STAFF OPENING—The Washington Peace Center, a local Washington, D.C. organization, has an opening for a National Budget Priorities/Disarmament Program Director. Part-time, long hours, \$50/week starting salary. For more information and application form, write: Washington Peace Center, 2111 Florida Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20008.

EARN \$480.00 WEEKLY stuffing envelopes at home with proven unique mailing program. Guaranteed! Free details: Monterey Place, P.O. Box 33147-TT, Coon Rapids, MN 55433.

MAGAZINE SEEKS STAFF: WIN Magazine seeks two staff for book-keeping, advertising, promotion and fundraising; editorial and writing responsibilities, too. Experience desirable. Commitment to social change necessary. Low pay, long hours, collective workstyle. Send letter about yourself to WIN Staff Search, 503 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11217. Apply ASAP, preferably by April 1.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR to administer politically progressive business school. Duties: financial planning, budgeting, reporting, comptrol; develop CD plan, supervise consultants and interns. Send resume to New School for Democratic Management, 589 Howard St., San Francisco, CA 94105.

HELP NEEDED

PROJECT RELEASE gave up both its place, communal apt. and may have to turn in its phone for the needed \$\$\$ Release needs your help to continue working against the MH establishment! Conts. should be sent to: Project Release, P.O. Box 396, FDR Sta., NYC, NY 10022.

EDUCATION

TRY OUT COMMUNAL LIVING. Week-long participation in creating a community; common resources, social systems, government. Summer 1979. Write Communal Living Week, Twin Oaks Community, Louisa, VA 23093.

FOR SALE

"ALWAYS FOR PLEASURE" buttons, \$1. Les Blank, Flower Films, 10341 San Pablo Ave., #T, El Cerrito, CA 94530.

SERVICES

RESEARCH, WRITING, EDITING, Catalog \$1. Academic Research Group, Inc., 240 Park Ave., Rutherford, NJ 07070. (201) 939-0189.

FILMS

IRAN: THE TEMPTATION OF POWER is the only film available providing an informed and progressive analysis of the Shah's regime. A vital tool for understanding Iranian society and the recent revolution. To order contact ICARUS FILMS, 200 Park Ave. South, New York, NY 10003; or call (212) 674-3375. A complete catalog is also available.

The Midwest's largest selection of Marxist and leftwing books and periodicals. Many titles in Spanish & German. 20% discount on all new books. Mail inquiries are welcome. Tel. (312) 525-3667
11 to 7:30 p.m., 6 days

Guild Bookstore
1118 W. Armitage
Chicago, Ill. 60614

CORRESPONDENCE WANTED

John Johnson, #39826, Box 1000, Steilacoom, WA 98388.

Thomas Eugene Sims, Box PMB #96038, Atlanta, GA 30315.

James Walter Sanders, 026418, P.O. Box 747, Starke, FL 32091.

M. Chappell, 150-801, P.O. Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

Duane P. Harris, #138632, Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

CLASSIFIED RATES: 25¢ PER WORD PREPAID

SEND TO:
1509 N. MILWAUKEE AVE.
CHICAGO, IL 60622

By Georgia Christgau

MUSIC

The woman with the big bad mouth

Millie Jackson plays, on stage and record, the Other Woman, the unhappy wife, or simply the fighting female.

In concert Millie Jackson often wears a baby blue tuxedo—without the pants. She's beautiful to look at, but what separates her from other solo soul acts is her schtick, an uncanny knack for rapping lover-to-lover and sister-to-sister with her audience.

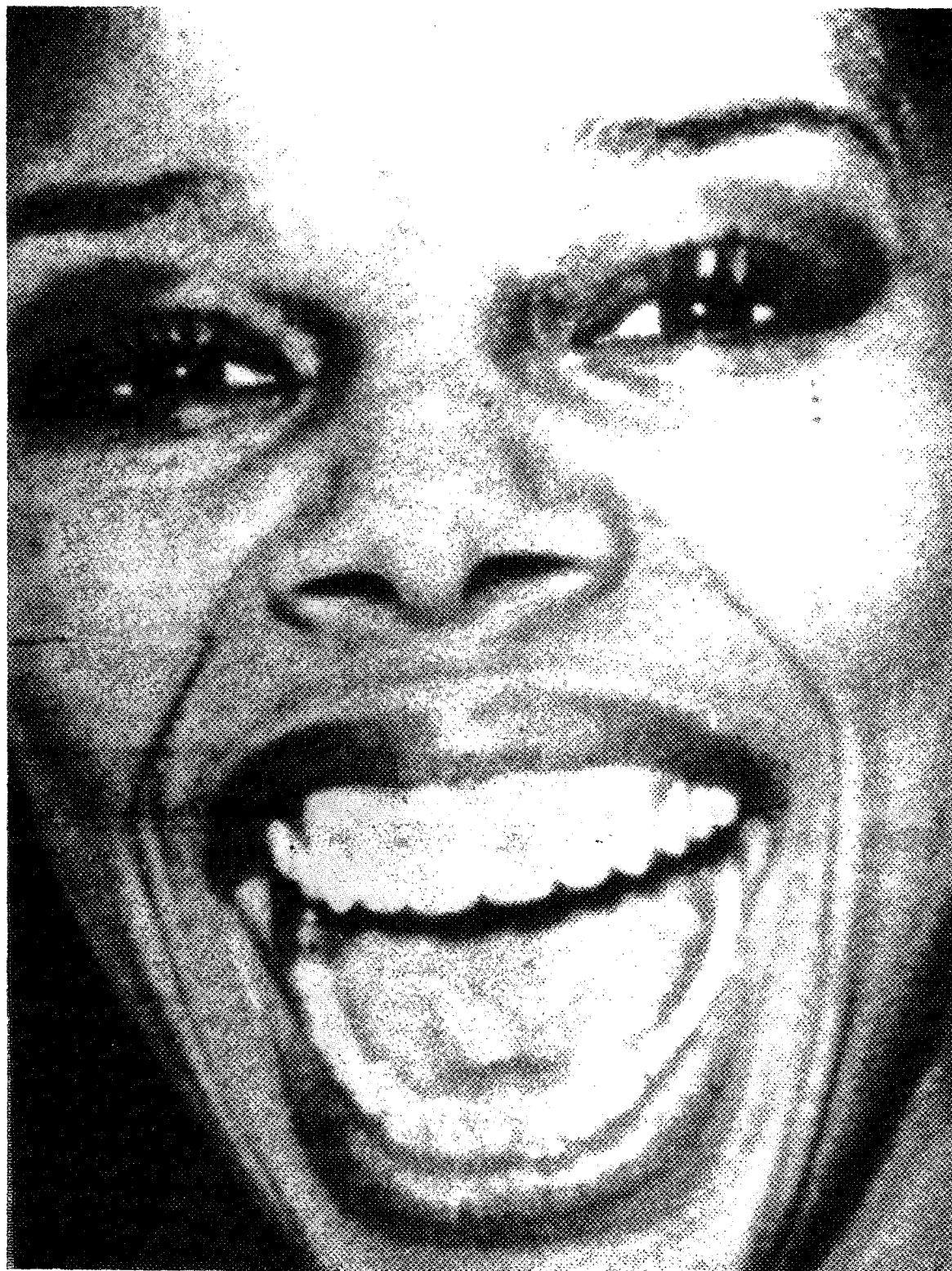
She plays the Other Woman, or the unhappy wife, or, lately, simply the fighting female. Tall, loud and sexy, she can out-talk anybody but rarely chooses to prove it. Recently she did: her 1977 Polydor album, *Feelin' Bitchy* practically sold platinum, and she produced the Millie Jackson Revue, touring through the South by bus with the Moments and a stand-up comic.

But even when she shares the bill with a three-man soul group, she demands center stage. Maybe she hired the Moments to prove that it takes three men to handle one of her. Millie comes across as the free woman who has everything—a man to screw and her freedom, too.

Millie Jackson was working as a model in Manhattan in the mid-'60s when she began singing. After "Ask Me What You Want" became a modest rhythm-and-blues hit in 1972, Millie gave up modeling. She had been singing for six years—in Harlem, Brooklyn, New Jersey and Connecticut—about being black and about not being Aretha Franklin. Millie was not, like Aretha, the daughter of Reverend C.; although Lady Soul is no goody-goody, she did grow up in her father's church. Aretha relies on her extraordinary voice to get her message across; Millie, a great singer but no Aretha, relies on bitching, kidding, and the good humor of an audience who's willing to go along with her changes.

From the first, her music asked angrily, "Are you on my side? Because I have a problem to share with you." In a style that would become characteristic, she rapped, sang verse, chorus, verse, and rapped a little more. She sang "A Child of God (It's Hard to Believe)," putting down the losers among her own people and hypocrites who prolonged the agony. It wasn't hard to convince people she was right even when the truth hurt—that was something she learned to do very early. With the economy of the best popular songwriters, she could break your heart with her pen in 25 words or less. Supported by a steady Memphis rhythm section and soprano back-up, Jackson borrowed the intensity of gospel but reserved the podium for herself. She was especially hard on women, but she did not apologize for being one. She was the competitive type.

In the style of a minister, or James Brown for that matter, she combined singing and shouting with telling it like it was. But she resembled more than anyone else the comedian who became an in-



ternational star by making remarks like "My dad called me a dog just because I stole his television." She credits Richard Pryor for a lot, for proving "you could say anything in the world and nobody would get offended."

In 1974, Jackson was nominated for a Grammy for her version of Luther Ingram's ballad, "(If Loving You Is Wrong) I Don't Want to Be Right." The Other Woman became Millie's

of the earth.

Some of the asexual, preachy quality of the book may be the consequence of Gilman-the-propagandist's attempts to reach a mainstream audience in 1915. Much of the book's blandness reflects a grim part of her own character, the sad consequence of years of over-work with little credit and few peers.

Gilman merits attention and respect. Yet the limited appeal of *Herland* and other tracts disguised as tales might serve as fair warning. A novel, even a didactic novel, needs to tell a story or create memorable characters to achieve its purpose, popularization of practical but currently unpracticed ideas.

tour-de-force; she was sometimes nasty, sometimes hilarious, always a know-it-all, and the shoe fit. At least it sold records. A woebegone triangular love story, "I Don't Want to Be Right" became her theme song; she still sings it as though she wrote it herself, embellishing it with Pryorish raps, one of which concludes in an epiphany at the laundromat: the best thing about loving a married man is that you don't have to wash anyone's funky drawers but your own.

Millie made concept albums: *Caught Up*, *Still Caught Up*, and *Feelin' Bitchy* were the big sellers. When she acted "normal"—*Free and in Love*, *Lovingly Yours*, her albums stiffed. Yet there's an evolving introspective voice on *Lovingly Yours*, the one that sings "You Can't Turn Me Off (In the Middle of Turning Me On)"—a woman who's decided she doesn't need to apologize for having a sex drive, or become an Other Woman to satisfy it.

Truth and fantasy.

It took talent to make the Other Woman desirable, but not much. By definition, she wore beautiful clothes, gave good talk, and loved

sex; it was a familiar fantasy. Being beautiful, talkative and sexy herself, Jackson effortlessly communicates this fantasy.

Jackson's genius was making the Other Woman not just desirable but a plausible role model. The O.W. defended a woman's right to good sex, and suggested, usually on the "A" side of her records, all the other advantages of her lifestyle, from the ridiculous to the realistic; on payday her man would come over and give her a little off the top, and she liked that.

On the "B" side of her records, usually, she spoke as the wife, defending her right to good sex, and argued that if things were right between wife and husband, the O.W. wouldn't be around to make a record. She presented a better case for marriage than most monogamoids, and almost in spite of herself. Sure, she pitched two women against each other for the same man. But the wife had her say, too.

The traditional sexist view of adultery ignores the needs of the wife and exploits the needs of the other woman to suit the man's. But Jackson understands the financial dependency of women;

independence has been essential to her from the beginning, when she held two jobs. She counsels married women to keep an unfaithful man happy at home so he'll pay the rent. This isn't a contradiction; it's an act of sisterhood. She never questions the myth of the oversexed male, but then she isn't a feminist; she's a talker, talking to women, talking, perhaps, to anyone who'll listen.

Millie plays with her audience, leaving men's superegos in tact and eliciting shouts of "Sing it, sister!" from women who scream with laughter at her jokes. As a rising singer in a man's world, she probably identifies with men more than most women can imagine. Interviews identify her with men, too. In England a reporter asked Millie the Oversexed Female, "You must have a lot of sex." She replied, "No, once every ten days is sufficient." Talking to me, she volunteered, "Promoting the last album, I was so busy I thought, 'Once a month is sufficient.' Tell my public I'm living a lie." She talks more freely about sex than any woman I ever met; she even brags about not getting it.

Facts and poses.

Good sales from *Feelin' Bitchy* proved that the Other Woman could retire gracefully; the album borrows some of the O.W. concept, but it's not about infidelity. "All the Way Lover" (written by a southern soul singer, Benny Latimore) was a national hit single about having oral sex, or, to use Jackson's radio airplay euphemism, about knowing how to partee. "A year ago, people wouldn't admit to oral sex," she says. "Not that they weren't participating then, just that they wouldn't admit that they did. But I find especially among the blacks, with *Feelin' Bitchy*, they're admitting to it more freely. 'Oh yes, I partee,' because it sounds better. Before they didn't know how to express themselves."

Totally in character—somewhat self-righteous, and impatient, too: "One black writer said I embarrassed my entire record company and him by discussing oral sex in depth. But, um, being the person I am I told him to kiss where I sit and asked was that oral enough for him."

Get It Outcha System, her latest album, doesn't use the O.W. schtick at all. "Keep the Home Fires Burnin'," also by Latimore, and its accompanying Jacksonian sermon, "Logs and Thangs," takes up most of side one. The second side is a scenario in which Millie falls in love with a musician, is betrayed, fools around a little herself, and gets him back, only to wish him well as he leaves the tour. She trafficks in romantic happy endings now; when I first heard this one, it didn't jive with her character.

Wait a minute, I thought, Millie wouldn't settle for a guy who'd chose his career over her. She'd get a man who'd stay at home! Logs and thangs! Then I realized that the singer going off to pursue his career was really her. Millie the financially independent woman, the only black woman in the industry to her knowledge who doesn't have a manager because "All he does is find somebody to book you and okay the dates, so I don't figure it's necessary to give him 20 percent of my gross." Millie the hardass who says men are bad risks she can't afford and love is something you better put something down on. If she really does only have sex once a month, I hope she finds a traveling man.

This story first appeared, in different form, in *The Village Voice*.

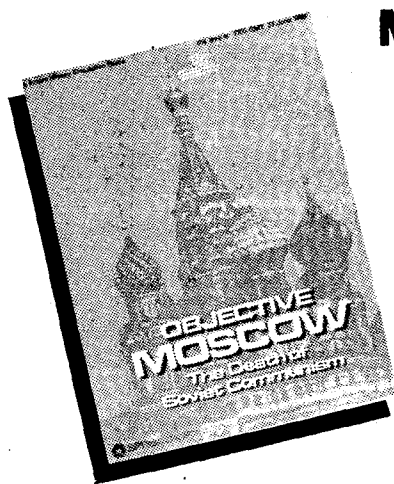
Herland

Continued from page 22.

tals. Gilman was not an anarchist but *Herland*, like most utopias, offers its readers the appeals of a stateless, decentralized society.

However excellent and concrete many of *Herland*'s public policies may be, Gilman relies on them and does not tell us a story. All the wonders of *Herland* are related by the sociologist narrator. The structure of the novel becomes a series of lessons, predictable contrasts between the frank and democratic *Herlanders* and the hypocritical, destructive heterosexuals who inhabit the rest

CARDBOARD BATTLEFIELDS



Military generals have played war board games for decades; and young bookish men pay \$25 for a game that can take 200 hours to play. Now, women and teenagers are also learning to play war games of the future.



By Lenny Rubinstein

A FRIENDLY ARMORED DIVISION moves out from its position to join an attack on several enemy units. The tanks have just enough fuel and shells to attack the enemy and move out, but an error has been made by the field commanders. The enemy units can, and do, withdraw; now, the friendly infantry divisions must rely upon the partially exhausted tank-crews to protect them from powerful enemy tank divisions threatening to encircle them. But the endangered divisions are only pieces of cardboard in board games that recreate, with an amazing attention to detail, not only some of the famous battles of World War II, but also wars from the near and far future.

War games have been around for decades; they were used during the war by the German and Japanese general staffs, are used in the academies of the American armed forces and have been commercially available to the public for more than ten years.

Two firms, Avalon-Hill and Simulations Publications, Inc., grossed \$4.6 million in sales last year, while another \$2 million was shared by half-a-dozen smaller companies. By contrast, Parker Brothers, the people who sell Monopoly and Clue, had sales grosses nearing the \$300 million mark. The exact sales figures for Monopoly are a closely guarded secret, but Parker Brothers admits that more than 80 million sets have been sold over the past 40 years, and business sources estimate that 3.5 million games of Monopoly are sold every year. War games may not pose much of a threat to Parker Brothers or its parent firm, General Mills, but they interest the Department of the Army.

James Dunnigan, co-founder and president of New York City-based Simulations Publications, Inc. (SPI), the firm with the largest selection of war games, over 170, reported that he had received a \$25,000 contract from the U.S. Army a few years ago to design a game of tactical skirmishes—that means not more than a few hundred men and vehicles—between U.S. and Soviet army forces. The game was titled "Firefight" and is commercially available. Dunnigan noted that "Firefight" cost far more than \$25,000 to develop and that it was test-played by the sons of foreign diplomats from the United Nations School. He added as a characteristic afterthought that he was sure the army

had never used the game properly anyway. Why do people play these games? Why do tens of thousands of college educated young men plunk down between \$10 and \$25 for a game that will not only demand intense concentration to play, but anywhere from four to 200 hours of such concentration to finish a game?

Part of the answer lies in a desire for aggressive play; the games are aggression in a classic format. A secondary interest is the love of historical detail. Dunnigan refers to the games as "paper time-machines," since they re-create many of the material details of the periods in which they take place. The cardboard pieces are not merely game tokens, nor even just any Allied or Axis division; they often have exact military designations. That piece of tan pasteboard is not just a Red Army unit, not just any odd division, but the Third Guards Armored Corps, one of the more potent units that helped defeat the Germans at Stalingrad.

This attention to detail is what makes the games so exacting; it takes hours to read the rules and to set up the pieces, let alone to play, and there is an obvious tension between the complexity of the games and their playfulness.

When does a war game become more work than fun? Dunnigan feels that much of the current complexity reflects improvements over the 15 years that war games have been around. He thinks much of the arithmetic drudgery—the calculations of fire-power ratios, battle odds and supply limits—will be done in the future by small household computers. The next logical step is the use of video-screens, on which the war-gamer of the future would be able to see movements and battles.

Another kind of future has already arrived—outer-space fantasy. New kinds of war games envision starships and intergalactic battles. Perhaps more intriguing are fantasy games in which players not only can create their own characters: elves, dwarves, sorcerers and clerics, but also can create the game as they play it.

Relatively new, the fantasy games have not only attracted numbers of women, but the pre-teen market as well. Jay Facciola, co-founder of Creative Wargames Workshop in New York City, commented that many a 12-year-old fantasizes about being a Gandalf or Frodo a lot sooner than about a Field Marshal Mont-

gomery, of whom he has never heard. Besides the freedom of whim allowed players in the fantasy games, they also avoid the peculiar male nostalgia surrounding World War II.

Politics are often minimized in war games, but some games deal with political issues within a strictly limited and frankly militarist context, notably SPI's "Russian Civil War" and "The Plot to Assassinate Hitler." Creative Wargames Workshop is planning to release "Junta," in which the winning player does *not* seize or hold power, but rather flees to Switzerland with the largest secret bank account.

Yet contemporary politics have provided the source for the most recent and popular board games, wars and battles lifted from last week's newspapers: real tank battles between Israeli and Arab armies and imaginary skirmishes between Warsaw Pact and NATO forces. SPI had become prominent in the field by issuing two or three new games each year and now offers a simulated invasion of the USSR and, just to show they have no bias, another that projects an invasion of the U.S.

The designers seem to sense an appeal in mass slaughter by opposing armies, for the games' covers often feature the imagery of victorious aggression, whether German *Panzer*-grenadiers leaping from their half-tracks or a long column of Soviet T-54 tanks, so familiar from their exercise in Prague in 1968.

"War games," ventures Facciola, "may be one of the few exclusive male preserves left." A few male players get together for at least four or five hours. War games may be the bookish male's equivalent of going hunting or fishing with his friends. Although 10 percent of war games players are indeed professional military men, the rest are average, married men in their 20s and early 30s. Their map boards and game pieces convert the kitchen or dining room table into the Antarctic wastes contested by the U.S. and Soviet Union, a World War II North African desert or the town of Gettysburg.

Chess, an abstract and stylized version of medieval warfare, may well be the oldest known war game and is played by between ten and 12 million Americans, according to the U.S. Chess Foundation. Perhaps when the war in Vietnam is ancient history, several million people will play and re-play that most expensive and longest game, "War in the Pacific." ■